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M. L.

GENEALOGY COLLECTION



Given to Captain Basil Hall
by the Author -

October, 1929

MEMORIES OF THE ARBUTHNOTS
OF
KINCARDINESHIRE AND ABERDEENSHIRE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

QUEEN MARY'S BOOK:

A Collection of Poems and Essays
by Mary Queen of Scots.



John Fagon sculp.

Thomas Kneller sculp.

Marcia Clapcott-Lisle

first wife of the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot

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MEMORIES OF THE ARBUTHNOTS OF KINCARDINESHIRE AND ABERDEENSHIRE

BY

MRS. P. S-M. ARBUTHNOT

WITH A PHOTOGRAVURE FRONTISPIECE
AND 25 PAGES OF ILLUSTRATIONS



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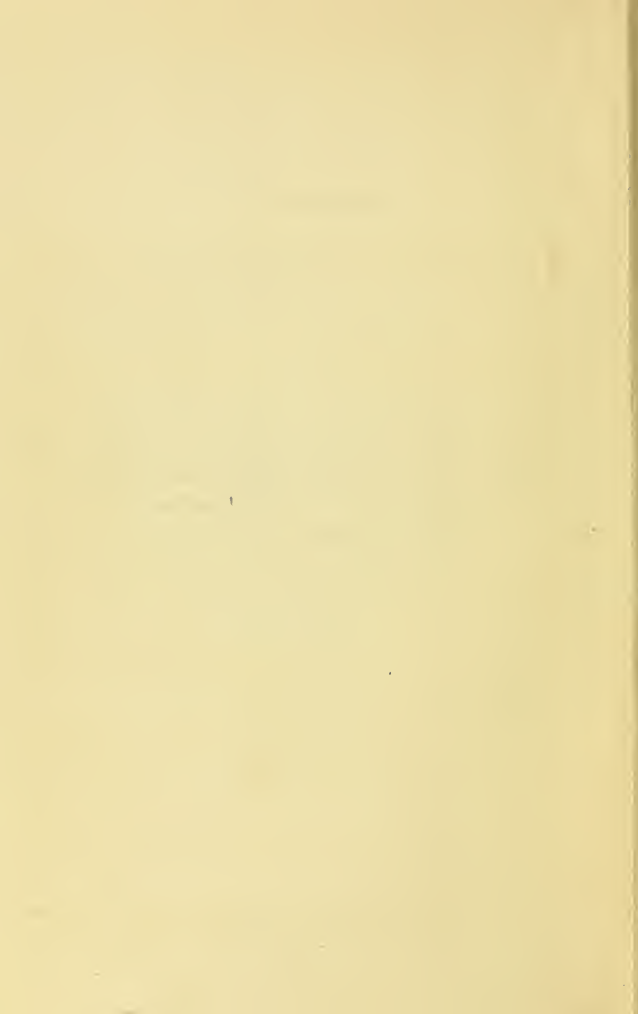
TO

M. E. A.

AND ALL THE YOUNGER MEMBERS OF THE CLAN,
IN THE HOPE AND BELIEF THAT THEY WILL ONE DAY
READ WITH PLEASURE THE HISTORY OF THEIR FAMILY,
AND UNDERSTAND THAT GENEALOGY, RIGHTLY
INTERPRETED, WHILE SEEKING TO PROVE
ALL THINGS, MAY INSPIRE US TO
HOLD FAST ONLY THAT
WHICH IS GOOD.

7.50
Bert Smith —

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PREFACE

IN compiling the following memoirs of the Arbuthnot family the author cannot claim to have done justice in any way to the long descent and interesting family history of the Arbuthnotts of Kincardineshire. She has considered herself to be only seriously in charge of the Aberdeenshire branch of the family, and this task will probably seem, on consideration, amply sufficient for one individual. But this apparent neglect of the senior line will carry with it, she trusts, no eventual loss to the genealogical student, for there is reason to believe that a publication of exceptional interest, dealing with that family, is shortly to make its appearance. Some facilities with regard to the important and unique family records preserved at Arbuthnott were, it is true, kindly offered with reference to the present volume, but the work was then too far advanced towards completion to enable advantage to be taken of a privilege often previously coveted and abandoned with extreme regret.



The point of junction between the Kincardineshire and Aberdeenshire branches of the family has been made the subject of special research. While no absolute certainty has been reached, it is believed that the evidence now collected and presented to the reader will show fairly clearly at which point the Aberdeenshire branch separated itself from the main stem.

The spelling of the name, which varies in the two branches, has often been a puzzle to genealogists. It is not known

when the senior line adopted the double *t*, but the records at Arbuthnott House would probably be conclusive on this point. The older form was certainly the single *t*, and the name is thus spelt throughout Principal Alexander Arbuthnot's MS. History of the Arbuthnot Family, finished about the year 1567. In the present volume the plan has been adopted of assigning the double *t* to the senior line from the first Viscount downwards, but this is only for convenience, and it is not in any way claimed as historically correct. The author would suppose the spelling to have been altered rather later, and some reasons could be suggested for this view, but there are various opinions on the point, and it is one with regard to which others are entitled to speak with greater authority.

With regard to the question as to what arms should be borne by the Arbuthnots of Buchan not descended from the first Baronet, the birthbrief facing p. 162 will perhaps be held to supply a satisfactory answer. The original document is in the Register House at Edinburgh, and in it we find that the great-grandfather of Robert Arbuthnot of Rouen—in whose favour the birthbrief was drawn up—bore the Arbuthnot arms within an engrailed bordure. The same birthbrief shows the arms of Arbuthnot of Cairngall, depicted a little differently, with a plain bordure, this ordinary being very frequently used in Scottish heraldry as a mark of difference in a cadet line. The engrailed bordure would then seem to be correct for all Arbuthnots descending from Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill (except the line of Baronets and their issue, who bear the bordure charged with three boars' heads, as granted to the first Baronet in 1814), while there is every probability that the arms of Gordon of Letterfourie should be quartered with the paternal coat. The latter suggestion is discussed on p. 149.

In an old MS. at the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, entitled *Scottish Surnames with their Arms*, by Sir James Balfour, Lyon, 1630-1654, the following entry has been found by Mr. Thomas Innes of Learney :

" Arbuthnot of Lentusche, Az., a  between three  Arg."

This is certainly a curiosity, and it is supposed that James Arbuthnot, second Laird of Lentusche, may have adopted this arrangement of the arms, which is believed to represent the Wishart passion nails incorporated with the Arbuthnot charges. (James, second Laird of Lentusche, married Barbara Wishart, see p. 118.) It is of interest to compare this with the illustration in Stodart's *Scottish Arms*, vol. i., where Plate 91 shows the Arms of Arbuthnot of that Ilk also composed with the Wishart passion nails. It is supposed that the arms may have been borne in this form by Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk (who died in 1505), whose first wife was a Wishart of Pitarrow, but a curious and inexplicable circumstance is that the arms are blazoned gules and or, whereas Arbuthnot of that Ilk has from time immemorial borne the crescent and mullets charged upon an azure field. I am informed by Mr Grant, the Rothesay Herald, that the original MS. from which Stodart's plate is copied—an Armorial attributed to Sir David Lindsay of the Mount—is in the possession of the Earl of Crawford.

It may be added that with regard to Parts I and V of this volume, little more has been attempted, with reference to the later portions, than to bring them into harmony with the 1915 Peerage, and the book must not be regarded as a complete work of reference for contemporary generations.

A. J. A.

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INTRODUCTION

THE researches on which this book is founded were begun in a desultory way, some years ago, as a distraction in the days of peace, when some of us enjoyed that spacious leisure which probably cannot, perhaps ought not, ever again to be our lot. It was finished when the claims of our own ruined century called us imperiously from studying the dead world to confront the problems and sorrows of our own incredible times.

It was impossible, in the later stages of the work, to concentrate upon it the undivided attention that every page of it properly required, and this will explain, and perhaps excuse, the lack of proportion that will be noticed in some of its parts. Such as it is, the writer wishes now to publish it, with a very clear sense of its shortcomings and a full acknowledgment also of the fact that without the kind assistance of correspondents, most of whom are quite unknown to her, it could not have reached the degree of accuracy which she hopes it may, through their kindness, have attained. With regard to the account given here of the senior line of Arbuthnott, the writer must acknowledge her deep indebtedness to the Arbuthnott article in the *Scots Peerage*, written by Mr. J. R. N. Macphail, as also to the Report on Lord Arbuthnott's papers by the Historical MSS. Commission. To both of these authorities, but more especially to the former, the writer must express the deepest obligations.

For the Arbuthnotts of Buchan, she had the advantage of access to the original MS. History of the family by John Moir,¹ while it is superfluous to add that Mr. Alexander Henderson's *Aberdeenshire Epitaphs* and Mr. David Littlejohn's *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeen* have been absolutely

¹ The original MS., which is in the possession of Mrs. Arthur Arbuthnot, is entitled: *Short Genealogical Memoirs of the Families of the Name of Arbuthnot, who first settled at Rora, now principally resident in Peterhead, containing also Memoirs of Dr. John Arbuthnot and his Brothers. Drawn up by John Moir, Edinburgh, 1815.*

invaluable for verifying and correcting the details of the pedigree.

She has also to thank the authorities at the Advocates' Library for kindly allowing her to use the MS. *History of the Arbuthnot Family*, written by the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot ; as also the Committee of the Paisley Free Library, for kind permission to reproduce a page of the *Arbuthnott Missal*.

To the Rev. William Arbuthnot¹ of Stechford, Birmingham, the writer is under a debt of gratitude greater than she can ever hope to express, for he has, without exaggeration, placed the researches of a lifetime at her disposal, and his unflagging interest in the work has been the greatest possible help and encouragement to her to persevere in a task that sometimes threatened to become overwhelming.

The late Mr. G. A. Aitken, author of the *Life of Doctor John Arbuthnot*, most generously sent her all his correspondence dating from the time when he was preparing that work, and this was of the greatest possible assistance, and placed her in touch with others interested in the same subject.

The private collections placed at her disposal have included those of Mr. William Arbuthnot-Leslie of Warthill, together with many family papers kindly lent by Mrs. Arthur Arbuthnot, which latter included many interesting letters and documents connected with the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot, always remembered as the intimate friend of the first Duke of Wellington. Some papers of the late Admiral Sir Robert Arbuthnot were also sent her, but many family records connected with the line of Baronets seem to have disappeared.

Mr. George Clerk Suttie of Alma Lodge, St. Cyrus, also most kindly placed his unrivalled knowledge of Arbuthnott, Fordoun and Kincardineshire freely at the writer's disposal, thus greatly facilitating the topographical side of the work.

The writer must acknowledge much kind and material help given by Miss Violet Arbuthnot-Leslie, Miss Madeline Charly Arbuthnot, Miss Mary Reeve Arbuthnot, Mr. Cecil Lister-Kaye, Mr. Thomas Innes, Mr. A. C. Ross, and others, as well as the welcome interest taken in the work by Miss

¹ These pages were in the hands of the printer when the author learnt of the death of Mr. Arbuthnot, who passed away at Icomb, Gloucestershire, 2nd of January, 1920, after a short illness.

Helen Arbuthnot of Ashley Gardens, the Hon. Mrs. Henry Denison, Mrs. George Holme Arbuthnot, the Rev. Leighton Pullan, and others connected more or less distantly with the family.

She has also to thank Mrs. Carnegie-Arbuthnott, Lady Marcia Cholmondeley, Mr. H. T. Knox, author of the *History of County Mayo*, Mr. J. M. Bulloch, author of the *House of Gordon*, Mr. J. F. Tocher, editor of the *Book of Buchan*, Mr. J. R. N. Macphail, Mr. David Littlejohn, Father Odo Blundell, and many others who have kindly allowed her to consult them on minor points. The kind and courteous attention given to all inquiries by Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon King-at-Arms, must also be gratefully acknowledged.

The writer must also acknowledge her indebtedness to Mr. Richard Edgcumbe for kindly allowing some quotations from the interesting letters of Mrs. Charles Arbuthnot, published for the first time by him in the *Diary of Frances, Lady Shelley*; as also to Mr. John Murray, Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., Messrs. Chapman and Hall, Messrs. Douglas and Foulis of Edinburgh, the Editor of *The Times*, and the Editors of *The Great War*, for permission to quote from various publications, references to which will be found in the text and foot-notes.

Mr. W. Mansell of Oxford Street has executed most of the photographic work, and the writer has to thank him for much kind and practical assistance and advice.

The sympathetic help given by Mr. Henry Paton and his father, the Rev. Henry Paton, who brought to the research-work in Edinburgh all the weight of their learning, with an enthusiasm that was most encouraging, must be recorded as having contributed to the work almost all the value it may owe to original research, as far as Scotland is concerned.

Miss E. Fairbrother has also carried out a large part of the research-work in London with her usual energy and spirit, and the writer is much indebted to her untiring labours, which have greatly helped to clear up those lines of the Arbuthnot family which have been resident in England since about the year 1691, when Dr. John Arbuthnot and his brothers first travelled south and settled in this country.

And last, but not least, the author must record that her

husband's constant enthusiasm and unwavering optimism have more than compensated for the sad fact that she has in general not been very successful in interesting members of the family itself in the history of their ancient race.

Perhaps a word of apology to readers north of the Tweed will not be thought out of place, as from an English writer presuming to appear as historian of a Scottish family. The task should perhaps have been undertaken, if by a woman at all, then by a Scotchwoman, preferably a member of the Arbuthnot family, or at least by one related in blood, and not merely by marriage, to this ancient family. It did not appear, however, that anyone thus qualified was proposing to undertake the task, and with regard to the propriety or otherwise of a mere Sassenach venturing upon it, the only extenuating circumstance that occurs to the writer is the fact that she had the good fortune to grow up in a house whose proudest possessions were its Stuart relics,¹ and such influences are apt to turn one's thoughts early in the direction of Scotland, as to a spiritual home, which, in the long, expectant hours of childhood, lay mysteriously beyond the boundaries of the known and the actual.

The task of writing the history of a family, many of whose members have fought for and suffered in the cause of the unfortunate Royal House, has been something more than a pleasant distraction—it has been a labour of love from beginning to end. Whether the results will be held to justify its publication, it is not for the writer to judge. She believes, however, that her sternest critics will not be found in Scotland, where, as genealogy receives more attention than elsewhere, the difficulties attending a task of this kind will be best appreciated. She would like to add that throughout the book an endeavour has been made to set the personal interest above the genealogical, and to give all possible prominence to those members of the family who, by services to their country or other achievements, have conferred upon their name a distinction greater than any they could inherit with it.

¹ Not the least of these, certainly, was the Prayer Book used on the scaffold by King Charles I, which has always been reverently treasured by the family whose generations have had, since the Civil War, the honour of being its custodians. This precious relic is now in the possession of the writer's brother, Mr. John Evelyn of Wotton.

Not rough, not barren, are the winding ways
Of hoar antiquity, but strewn with flowers.

THOMAS WARTON.

In books lies the soul of the whole Past Time.

CARLYLE.

PART I

THE ARBUTHNOTTS OF
KINCARDINESHIRE

THE ARBUTHNOTTS OF KINCARDINESHIRE

THE lands of Arbuthnott, in ancient times known as Aberbothenoth, lie to the eastern side of Kincardineshire. The little river Bervie flows through them to the sea, passing on its way Arbuthnott House, which stands on the site of an ancient castle that once frowned upon the picturesque landscape, and overlooks the point at which a small tributary joins the Bervie and quickens its current eastwards. It is to this junction of the rivers that the name Arbuthnot is said by some to owe its origin. Perhaps no Scottish, and only a few English readers will require to be told the meaning of the Gaelic *Aber*—the influx of a smaller into a greater stream. *Both*, or *Bothena*, is a baronial residence, while *Nethea* is given (in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*) the curious meaning of “the stream that descends or is lower than something else in the neighbourhood.” This completes the picture of the two streams, which do actually flow at the foot of a sharp declivity, giving a very picturesque and rather wild aspect to the miniature valleys here united.

Crowning the eminence above the streams stands Arbuthnott House, half hidden from view by the surrounding trees, as though it wished to withdraw itself from the busy, garrulous life of a utilitarian century and sink into the misty shadow of its historical memories.

For it has memories, though it is not the feudal castle from which, in the days of chivalry, Sir Hugh le Blond rode proudly forth to draw his sword in vindication of the honour of a fair lady who stood in deadly peril and who was also his Queen. But here, on this site, his grim old stronghold must once have stood, although it is now as much a legend as the old story of Sir Hugh's exploit. The date of the present Arbuthnott House seems to be uncertain, and so far nothing

has come to light to show when the old battlemented castle was demolished. The magnificent beech avenue, which is such a feature of the grounds, is supposed to be rather more than three hundred years old—the date was ascertained by counting the concentric rings of a fallen tree—and it has been conjectured that the planting of this avenue, somewhere about the end of the sixteenth century, may have synchronized with the erection of a more modern building.¹ On an old bakehouse still standing at the end of the present courtyard the date 1588 is to be seen, and Mr. George Clerk Suttie—to whose interesting little book on Arbuthnott, supplemented by information most kindly furnished by him, I owe nearly all the above facts—has traced some defensive loopholes in one of the old walls, which survive to remind us of the unquiet days of long ago.

The drive by which Arbuthnott House is approached no longer passes up the old beech avenue; at the spot where it crosses the smaller stream a beautiful stone bridge has been thrown across the gorge, the effect being exceedingly fine. This bridge was built by the eighth Viscount in 1821.

Among the treasures within the house are many beautiful portraits—among them a very fine one of the first Viscount—and other valuable pictures by well-known painters. There is also preserved at Arbuthnott an old two-handed sword, said to have belonged to Sir Hugh le Blond. Mr. Suttie tells us that within recent years a carpenter on the estate had in his possession a huge iron key, said to have been the original key of the old Castle of Arbuthnott.

Next in interest to Arbuthnott House, we must notice the wonderful old parish church. Genealogists who visit it will not fail to wander into the Arbuthnott Aisle, once a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and see there the ancient sculptured tomb (said by some to be of the thirteenth century), with the recumbent knight, long believed to represent Sir

¹ This, in its turn, is supposed to have given place to the present (eighteenth-century) house. We may notice that the old square tower of the castle is said to have survived until 1754, when it was unfortunately pulled down and the present Georgian building erected.—See account in Neale's *Views of Seats*, 2nd edition, vol. iii.



Engraved by W. G. Smith

ABBERTON HOUSE, KENT

Printed

By J. G. Smith, at the Kentish Press, No. 1, St. Martin's Lane, London.

Hugh le Blond himself.¹ This tomb is said to have formerly borne the arms of the de Moreville family, hereditary Constables of Scotland, and from this fact it has been surmised that Sir Hugh was married to a member of that ancient family. There is no trace of the de Moreville arms—three chevrons—now to be found on the tomb. Two shields bear the Arbuthnot arms, very distinct and well preserved,² and showing the mullets and crescent exactly as now borne by the head of the family and, with slight variations, by all its branches. Another shield shows the Stewart fesse-chequy, and a fourth remains unidentified. A fifth has completely disappeared, and a sixth has been removed and fixed into the wall of the church. The latter is charged with two mullets and a heart, and it has been suggested that it may be an old form of the Douglas arms :³



The Arbuthnott Aisle, formerly St. Mary's Chapel, was built by Sir Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk in 1505. Above it is a small chamber, originally designed for the use of the

¹ Though always spoken of as the tomb of Sir Hugh le Blond, it has been thought by some to be of rather later date, and possibly to be the tomb of James Arbuthnot of that Ilk, who died in 1521. Some probability is given to this suggestion by the fact that one of the heraldic shields on the tomb bears the arms of Stewart of Atholl, and James Arbuthnot's wife was a daughter of that house. Andrew Jervise, in his *Angus and Mearns*, writes as follows: "It is much more probable that the coffin slat which lies beside that effigy, and is embellished with a cross, two shields and a sword, had been the tombstone of le Blond, if he had had one. Its style, at least, corresponds more with that of the funeral monuments of the thirteenth century, during which he flourished."—*Angus and Mearns*, vol. i. p. 34. An illustration showing this coffin slat has been published in Jervise's *Epitaphs and Inscriptions from Burial Grounds and Old Buildings in the North-East of Scotland*.

² See illustration facing p. 70.

³ James Arbuthnot's great-great-grandmother was a Douglas, daughter of Sir William Douglas of Dalkeith. His wife, Lady Jean Stewart, was the granddaughter of Margaret Douglas, "the fair Maid of Galloway." Either circumstance might perhaps account for the presence of the Douglas arms on the tomb.

officiating priest of St. Mary's Chapel. This little chamber, which we reach by a small winding staircase in the round tower at the north-west angle of the chapel, will always be connected with the memory of James Sybbald, Vicar of Arbuthnott, writer of the *Arbuthnott Missal*, for it was certainly occupied by him, and tradition even states that it was here he spent many precious hours, bending over the illuminating work he must have loved, and of which three exquisite examples remain. These are the *Arbuthnott Missal*, the *Psalter*, and the *Office of St. Mary*, all now in the Public Library at Paisley.*

The *Missal*, whose borders and initial letters are most delicately and beautifully illuminated, was undertaken at the request of Sir Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk, and was finished on the 22nd of February, 1491, "to the praise and honour of the most blessed Confessor Terenanus, Archbishop, patron of the said church, by James Sybbalde, Vicar of the same."†

It was used for daily service in the parish church. The *Office of the Virgin*, believed to have been written between 1471 and 1484, was used in St. Mary's Chapel, and is "a small folio containing eighty leaves of vellum, in the original binding, covered with the ancient linen slip or chemisette. It has still attached to it the original veils of silk or crape to protect the illuminated pages." Some blank pages at the end of the volume contain an obituary of the Arbuthnot family, from the death of Duncan de Aberbothenoth in 1314 to 1551. A note gives the date of James Sybbald's death, 11th September, 1507. The *Psalter* was finished in 1482, and presented to the Chapel of St. Mary by Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk, who died in 1505.

The *Missal* is specially interesting to students of Church history, for it is believed to be a unique MS. example of the ancient pre-Reformation liturgy of Scotland. It conforms

* These three unique illuminated manuscripts were sold at Sotheby's on the 10th of December, 1897, by order of the trustees of the tenth Viscount Arbuthnott. They were bought for £1,200 by Mr. Hopkins, of Glasgow, and afterwards acquired by Mr. Archibald Coats, who presented them to the Free Library of his native town, Paisley.

† Note in the original. See account of the *Missal* in the *Eighth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, Appendix, p. 300.

very closely to the Sarum Use, which had been adopted in Scotland from a very early period, but the Calendar of Saints varied very much from the *Proprium Sanctorum*, containing many more Scottish and fewer English saints.¹ This was usual, as the calendars often varied locally, according to the saints most held in honour in each diocese.

What would not John Knox have given to have been able to commit to the flames these priceless memorials of a piety that took a form so different from his own fierce iconoclasm? Possibly we may owe the fact of their preservation to the intervention of Principal Alexander Arbuthnot, who was Presbyterian minister of Arbuthnott from 1569 onwards, and was noted for his scholarly tastes and above all for his moderation—a quality not often met with in those days of fierce intolerance.

A little later than James Sybbald's time the priest's chamber held a library, consisting of books bequeathed to it by Principal Arbuthnot.² The Rev. John Sibbald, minister at a later date (he belonged, as did the writer of the *Missal*, to the Sibbalds of Keir, and preceded the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot at Arbuthnott), also bequeathed a number of books to the library, for the benefit of succeeding incumbents, but all these have long since disappeared.

In the twelfth century the lands of Aberbothenoth belonged partly to the Church and partly to the Crown. In this arrangement we can at once discern a fruitful source of future controversy, and, accordingly, from the time when the Crown lands came into the possession of the first Hugo de Aberbothenoth, we find a succession of disputes with the ecclesiastical proprietors of the other half of the lands.

This Hugo received the lands of Aberbothenoth (from which he took his name, having previously been known as Hugo de Swinton) from Walter Oliphard, whose father, or uncle, Osbert Oliphard, had received them direct from the Crown. He carried on the controversy respecting the Church lands, which remained unsettled at the time of his death. The oldest of the manuscripts in Lord Arbuthnott's possession

¹ See *Liber Ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott : Missale secundum Usum Ecclesie Sancti Andree in Scotia*, edited by Bishop Forbes, 1864.

² Jervise's *Angus and Mearns*, vol. i. p. 33.

is a decret of 1206, settling the dispute between Hugo's son Duncan and the Bishop of St. Andrews, as to the rightful ownership of the Kirktown of Arbuthnot, in favour of the Bishop.¹

Hugo de Aberbothenoth is said to have married a daughter of Osbert the Crusader, and he was succeeded by his son—

Duncan de Aberbothenoth, who, as we have noticed, continued with spirit the controversy respecting the Crown lands, which was terminated in favour of his opponent in 1206.

Duncan de Aberbothenoth left two sons—

I. Hugh, his heir.

II. Alwinus, living in 1241.

The eldest son, Hugh, succeeded his father, and was living in 1238. He was in turn succeeded by another Hugh, who was known as "le Blond," from the flaxen colour of his hair, and who is the hero of the old ballad familiar to all readers of Sir Walter Scott. This ballad, handed down by oral tradition for centuries among the peasantry of the Mearns, has not been and cannot be historically confirmed, and Scott searched in vain for a Queen of Scotland whose honour required to be vindicated by a knight in mortal combat. The nearest approach to it, he tells us, is a story of Mary, wife of Alexander II, who, about 1242, was "somewhat implicated in a dark story concerning the murder of Patrick Earl of Athol," and in this case her name was only drawn in indirectly as guaranteeing the innocence of her favourite, Sir William Bisat, who was accused of the deed. Bisat "offered the combat to his accusers," but was finally obliged to give way, and was banished from Scotland. "It is not impossible," says Sir Walter, "that some share taken in it by this Sir Hugh de Arbuthnot may have given a slight foundation for the tradition of the country."

The words of the ballad were recovered and transmitted

¹ *Eighth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, Appendix, p. 297. For a theory as to the origin of Hugo de Swinton, see vol. i. of the *Scots Peerage*, pp. 273-4, where Mr. J. R. N. Macphail suggests that he was the son of a certain Cospatrick de Swinton, who, with his son Hugo, witnessed a charter about the year 1177.

to Sir Walter Scott by Mr. Williamson Burnet of Monboddo, who wrote them down "from the recitation of an old woman long in the service of the Arbuthnot family."¹

The story relates how the Queen of Scotland, falsely accused, was condemned to the savage fate of being burnt alive, from which there was no escape unless she could find a champion to fight and overthrow the villain Rodingham, her accuser, whose addresses she had previously discouraged.

"Alas! Alas!" then cried our Queen,
 "Alas, and woe to me!
 There's not a man in all Scotland
 Will fight with him for me."

Her messengers rode forth, "south, east and west," but could find "none to fight with him or enter the contest," until they reached Sir Hugh le Blond, who at once responded chivalrously to the summons.

When unto him they did unfold
 The circumstance all right,
 He bade them go and tell the Queen
 That for her he would fight.

The day fixed for the contest arrived, and it appears that Sir Hugh was late in keeping the appointment. As the time wore on, the Queen's accuser became restless and showed much unseemly concern that no more time should be wasted, urging that the faggots should be lighted and the sentence carried out forthwith.

"Put on the fire," the monster said,
 "It is twelve on the bell."
 "'Tis scarcely ten now," said the King,
 "I heard the clock myself."

Sir Hugh, however, presently appeared, and speedily obliterated any unfortunate impression that may have been created by his unpunctuality, for, after a brief struggle, his

¹ "Of course the diction is very much humbled, and it has, in all probability, undergone many corruptions; but its antiquity is indubitable, and the story, though indifferently told, is in itself interesting. It is believed that there have been many more verses."—Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 5th edition, 1821, vol. ii. p. 277.

knightly sword "pierced Rodingham till 's heart-blood did appear."

The ballad relates that Sir Hugh was in due course rewarded for his valour and gallantry by a gift of the lands of Arbuthnot. To quote the familiar passage :

The Queen then said unto the King,
" Arbattle's near the sea ;
Give it unto the northern knight
That this day fought for me."

Then said the King, " Come here, Sir Knight,
And drink a glass of wine,
And if Arbattle's not enough,
To it we'll Fordoun join."

Unfortunately for the accuracy of this narrative as to detail, the lands of Arbuthnot, as we have seen, had been in possession of the family for some generations before the time of Sir Hugh le Blond. Some historical foundation there may have been for the old story, which was confidently believed in and handed down in affectionate, if illiterate, zeal by the vassals on the Arbuthnot lands, and preserved by them and them alone for centuries, but if so, all is lost now. Learning and research have failed to verify what has welled up from the heart of the people ; but tradition has its own laws, and some of us will like to think that the exploit of Sir Hugh had some origin in a long-ago forgotten act of chivalry, whose echo only has reached us in our busy, modern life.

Another famous deed attributed to Sir Hugh le Blond is the slaying of a dragon or monster of some kind which frequented the Den of Pitcarles, and was the terror of the countryside. In proof of this, a round iron ball with which he is said to have accomplished this feat is to be seen in the awmrie near his tomb. Mr. Suttie, however, suggests that this was a cannon ball fired from a French man-of-war, which chased a small sloop into the mouth of the Bervie towards the end of the eighteenth century ; and with all due respect to the talents of Sir Hugh, we shall probably feel that this is a more reasonable supposition.

In 1282 Sir Hugh le Blond made a grant of land to the monks of Aberbroth. The Charter recording this gift is, or

should be, in Lord Arbuthnott's possession. Nisbet says: "The original Donation (which I have seen) is still in the hands of his Successor, the Viscount of Arbuthnott, to which the said *Hugo's* Seal is appended, and very entire to this Day, having thereon a Crescent and a Star, which with very little Variation is still the Arms of the Family."

With regard to Sir Hugh le Blond, Nisbet writes further: "This Hugh died about the end of the Thirteenth Century, and was buried with his Ancestors, in the Burial-Place of the Family, at the Church of *Arbuthnott*, where his Statue is still to be seen, cut in Stone, at the full length, in a lying Posture, together with his own, and his Lady's Arms, which are three *Cheverons*; of whose Quality and Parentage, altho' the History of the Family be altogether silent,² yet from the Identity of the Arms, it seems very probable that she was a Daughter, or at least a very near Relation, of the great and ancient Family of the *Morvills*, who were Constables of *Scotland* for several generations, and who bore precisely the same Arms, as appears by several Charters still extant, to which these Seals are appended."³

Sir Hugh le Blond was succeeded by his son—

Duncan de Aberbothenoth, who seems to have lived quietly on his own property and not to have come forward into the public affairs of his time in any way. We have the date of his death, 13th December, 1314, and we know that he left a daughter to whom he gave the lands of Fiddes in tocher on her marriage with Straiton of Lauriston. Duncan had a son of the same name, who was his successor—

Duncan de Aberbothenoth, who survived his father only a short time and was succeeded by his son—

Hugo de Aberbothenoth, who lived about the middle of

¹ *Nisbet's Heraldry*, vol. ii., Appendix, pp. 87-8.

² The allusion is to Principal Alexander Arbuthnot's Latin history of the family, a sixteenth-century document of incomparable interest, largely compiled from ancient records no longer extant. It is preserved among the treasures at Arbuthnott House.

³ *Nisbet's Heraldry*, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 88. As has been said, there is now no trace of the Moreville arms to be found on the tomb, and as it has been doubted whether the old tomb in Arbuthnott Church is that of Sir Hugh le Bond at all, but whether it is not rather that of a much later Laird of Arbuthnot, it is evident that the identification of his wife must be accepted with extreme reserve. See p. 27, note.

the fourteenth century, at the commencement of the reign of David II. He was succeeded by his son—

Philip de Aberbothenoth. Of his public acts we know little, except that he was a benefactor to the Church of the Carmelite Friars at Aberdeen. On 25th April, 1355, he granted to them an annual rent of 13s. 4d. for repairing their church and for the well-being of the souls of himself, his parents and friends. This donation establishes that he had succeeded to the estates before that date.¹

In the *Eighth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission* an amusing account—taken from Principal Arbuthnot's History—is given of this Philip and the circumstances which led to his second marriage. His first wife was Janet Keith, a daughter of Sir William Keith, Great Marischal of Scotland, and by her he had two daughters, but, to his great grief, no son. She pre-deceased him, and Philip, "dreading that his ancient house should be ruined by division of the heritage between his daughters, so grieved about the matter that from that or other causes he fell into 'ane heavy disease.'" Believing himself to be dying, he sent for his father-in-law to ask his advice as to whether he should strike his daughters out of the inheritance and settle all upon the heir-male—a plan that would at least preserve the property intact. It is not perhaps very surprising that the Marischal advised him to make no such unnatural arrangement, but to leave the law to take its course and the estate to be divided. The Marischal further exhorted him to make an effort to overcome his disease. Philip, taking the latter part of his advice, rallied his forces with "good courage," and struggled against his weakness, assisted and strengthened by a growing determination to find some other means of avoiding the sub-division of the estates. "He rapidly recovered, and proceeded to 'take purpois of new marriage.' . . . Visiting frequently at the Castle of Dalkeith, held by Sir William Douglas, he found that 'this lord had certane dochtaris, virginis, and meit for marriage.' 'Liking their bewtie and conditionis,' he proposed to their father for one of them. Being accepted, the marriage was completed, as the family historian says, with magnificent preparations." His hopes were fulfilled, and by

¹ See *Scots Peerage*, vol. i. p. 276.

his second wife, Margaret Douglas (who is said to have married secondly Fleming of Braid), he had, with other children, whose names are not known—

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Hugh, his successor.

Margaret, or Marjorie, who married her cousin, Sir William Monypenny (dispensation being dated 24th February, 1410), and by him was the mother of William, created Lord Monypenny.

The son, Hugh Arbuthnot, the first to be called "of Arbuthnot" (according to the *Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*), "played a considerable part in the history of his house, though no documents executed by him remain, save his testament, dated 13th March, 1446, and confirmed 29th June, 1447." Round the name of Hugh Arbuthnot hangs the ghastly tradition of the murder of John Melville of Glenbervie, Sheriff of the Mearns in 1420. It is said that Hugh Arbuthnot and his followers, desiring to please the Regent,¹ who was at that time incensed against the Sheriff, invited the latter to a hunting party in Garvock, and there, seizing and casting him into a caldron, proceeded to boil the contents, and then to help themselves to a spoonful all round.

Principal Arbuthnot's account, however, gives no such gruesome details with regard to his relative's exploit. He relates that the Sheriff, having become puffed up with pride, riches, the number of his dependants and so on, had greatly offended his neighbours by his haughty demeanour. "A day of conference between the Sheriff and his opponents was appointed, but the result of their meeting was only greater provocation. Wherefore the Barons 'persewed Jhone as he was returning home, and having overtane him, nocht far from S. James' Kirk of Garvah hill, thai set upone him and slayis him.' After the murder, the confederates, knowing that Hugh of Arbuthnott, being their chief, would be marked as a special subject for vengeance, left their own houses and mustered to defend the house of Arbuthnott. Finding, however, that the place was not sufficiently strong, they laid the foundation of the present castle, and raised the work to such a height as to form a safe refuge in all local feuds. On

¹ The Regent Albany, who governed the country from 1406 to 1419, during the imprisonment of James I, Scotland's poet-King, in England.

this the chronicler remarks that the deed, which might have brought ruin, resulted in greater honour to the family and the acquiring of a stronger castle. It will be seen from this narrative that the more revolting elements of the tradition are discredited, the affair being resolved into a mere local feud, and the murder done in hot blood, and not under the guise of friendship or with savage accessories."¹

Hugh Arbuthnot and others of the confederates escaped all evil consequences which might have followed this deed by claiming kinship with the clan of Macduff, who possessed privileges in cases of this kind, granted to them and their kinsfolk only. On the ground of this kinship Hugh Arbuthnot and his companions received a remission for the deed.

A copy of the remission to Hugh Arbuthnot and his accomplices in this murder is among the MSS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh,² written in a seventeenth-century hand. In it Johnston Stuart of Fyfe sends "Till all men thir present letters to comes . . . wit ye, we have ressavit Hugh Arbuthnot" (and others) . . . "to the lawes of Clane Macduff, for the deid of quhillome Johne the Malaville, Laird of Glenbervy. . . . Quhairefore to all and sundrie that it effairs, firmly we forbid on the King's halfe of Scotland, and our Lord Macduff, Duke of Albany, Earle of Fyfe and Monteith, and Governor of Scotland . . . that no man take a hand to doe, molest, greive, or wrange the foirsaid persons in their bodies, or in their geir, because of the deid of the said Johne of Malavill. . . . In witness of the whilk, this our seal to this present hes put. Att Falkland, the first of September the yeir of God 1421 yeirs."

Hugh married Janet Keith, daughter of Sir Robert Keith of Dunnottar, Great Marischal of Scotland. She died in 1419 and he in 1446.³ He had issue, besides a daughter, Margaret,

¹ *Eighth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, Appendix, p. 297.

² It has been printed in full in James Maidment's *Analecta Scotica*, 2nd Series, pp. 30-31.

³ A copy of the will of Hugh Arbuthnot is among the Arbuthnot Papers in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. It appears that his debts at the time of his demise amounted to £92 12s. 5d., including 36s. owing to "James of Arbuthnot." He assigns certain sums for his burial and for masses, and leaves the residue to his son and heir, "Robert of Arbuthnot," and to Sir Alexander of Erth, Vicar of Kinneff, both of whom are appointed his executors.

who married Andrew Menzies, Provost of Aberdeen, and was ancestress of the Pitfoddels family, a son—

Robert Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot, who survived his father four years, dying in 1450. He married Giles Ogilvy, daughter of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen, High Treasurer of Scotland. By her he had issue—

- I. David, his heir, of whom presently.
- II. Hugh, whose line we shall treat in much detail later.
- III. Robert, described as "in Banff," a holding on the Arbuthnot estate. He married . . . Lychtoun, and appears to have had (though not by her) two sons, John and William, living in 1488 and 1503.
- IV. Alexander, believed to have died young.
- V. James, married a daughter of Grahame of Morphie and left issue.
- VI. William, said to have married a lady of the name of Abirkyrdo of Dundee, and to have left issue.
- I. Catherine, wife of John Allardyce of that Ilk, by whom she had issue.

David Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot, eldest son of Robert Arbuthnot and Giles Ogilvy, married Elizabeth Durham of Grange, and died 8th October, 1470.¹

By Elizabeth Durham, whose will was confirmed in September, 1488,² he had issue—

¹ The inventory of his goods was made at Arbuthnot, 5th November, 1470. He was stated to have cattle and goods in Arbuthnot and "Futhas." "Hugh of Arbuthnot" owes him 100 merks, of which 40 are to be remitted if the debt is readily paid. He leaves 26s. 8d. to "James Arbuthnot," desires his body to be buried in the parish church of Arbuthnot, before the altar of the Virgin, and bequeathes certain sums to that church and the altars therein, and 20s. to the Prior and Friars of Montrose. His executors are Elizabeth his spouse, and "Robert of Arbuthnot," his son and heir, who are to act under the guidance of his brothers Robert, James, and William, all styled "of Arbuthnot." The testament was confirmed 20th October, 1470, and ratified by the Bishop of St. Andrews, 6th January, 1470-1.—*Arbuthnot Papers*, in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

² *Arbuthnot Papers*, Advocates' Library. In this document she is styled "Lady of Pitkerles." The inventory of her goods was made on the 10th March, 1487, in the presence of Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk and others (including "Sir James Sybbald, Vicar of Arbuthnot, notary"), when it was found that she was owing to the Laird of Arbuthnot, her son, £3, besides 80 merks for the marriage of her daughter Katherine. She appoints her body to be buried in the parish church of Arbuthnot, before the altar, beside the body of her well-beloved David

- I. Robert, his heir.
- II. Hugh, a physician in France, where he settled and left issue, "but their names are changed as the the fashion is there and so the surname either lurks unknown or it is perished."¹
- I. Elizabeth, married to Patrick Barclay of Garntully. She was his wife in 1464, and was living in 1506.
- II. Giles, married first to Cargill of Lessington, and secondly to Alexander Fraser of Durris.
- III. Christina, living 1487.
- IV. Catherine, married before 3rd June, 1487, to Alexander Grahame, son of David Grahame of Morphie, known as Tutor of Morphie. Living 1487.

Robert Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot, son of David Arbuthnot and Elizabeth Durham, was named executor to his father's will in 1470, and served heir 10th November, 1471. He stood high in the favour of James III and James IV, and made some judicious additions to the family estates. He also obtained possession of the Barony of Fiddes, which had formerly belonged to his family, but had been alienated from it for two centuries. He completed the building of the Castle of Arbuthnot, begun by his ancestor, Hugh de Arbuthnot, at the time of the slaying of Melville of Glenbervie, adding battlements, a vaulted gateway, and other embellishments. He was also a benefactor to the Church of St. Ternan, Arbuthnott, to which he added the Arbuthnott Aisle, or Chapel of St. Mary, as it used to be called, which has been for centuries the burial-place of the Lairds and Viscounts of Arbuthnott. By his direction the Arbuthnott *Missal* was written and completed in 1491. He also presented the church with two bells, and further made a grant in mortmain of an annuity chargeable on his lands of Halgreen for supporting a chaplain to perform the services at St Ternan's.

Arbuthnot of that Ilk, deceased. She leaves to Mr. Hugh Arbuthnot, her son, 10 merks; to Christine, her daughter, 40s.; some clothing and other things, including a girdle and a "mataxa," to be divided between her and Katherine, also her daughter, to whom she leaves a coffer. The will is endorsed: "Durhame, Lady of Arbuthnot's testament, 1483 [*sic*]."

¹ *Scots Peerage*, vol. i. p. 281. The quotation is from the translation of Principal Arbuthnot's *History of the Arbuthnot Family*, by Mr. Morrison, minister of Benholme.

In 1482 he is mentioned as one of the friends "of baytht parties" in a contract of marriage between William Keith, afterwards third Earl Marischal, and Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Huntly.¹

In the same year a Plenary Indulgence was granted to Robert Arbuthnot and Marion Scrymgeour, his wife, in return for contributions made by them towards the Crusade against the Turks. This was granted by Friar John Lytstar, Vicar-General of the Friars Minors in Scotland, and is dated at Arbuthnott, 30th April, 1482.²

In 1487 he and Marion Scrymgeour were received into the Order of the Friars Minors of Observance, with participation in all the benefits of the Order.³

In 1489 he received a letter from the King, from Stirling, bidding him to hold himself in readiness and "kepe his howsys and strenthis," because the Earl Marischal, the Master of Huntly, Lord Forbes and others, are "making certane ligis and bands at the Castell of Dunbertane."⁴

In 1490 Robert Arbuthnot and his wife had licence to carry about with them a portable altar and to say Mass at any time and place convenient to them; this was dated at Rome, the nones of May, 1490.⁵

He married, first, Margaret Wishart, daughter of James Wishart of Pitarrow, and by her had a son—

I. Ambrose, alive in 1483, but died young, when at school at Brechin.

He married secondly Mariota (or Marion) Scrymgeour, daughter of Sir James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Constable of Dundee, the contract being dated 10th September, 1475.⁶

¹ *Collections for the History of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. iv. p. 35.

² *Arbuthnot Papers*, Advocates' Library.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Nisbet's Heraldry*, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 89.

⁵ *Arbuthnot Papers*.

⁶ Marion Scrymgeour died in 1518, and in her testament she directs that her body shall be buried at the side of the choir in the Church of Arbuthnot, founded by the deceased Robert Arbuthnot of that ilk and herself. She leaves to her grandson Andrew Arbuthnot £20, to her son Andrew Arbuthnot all the corn in her town of "Quhytfield" and 100 sheep there, and the rest of her goods to her son Robert, whom she appoints her executor. The will was confirmed 24th December, 1518.—*Arbuthnot Papers*.

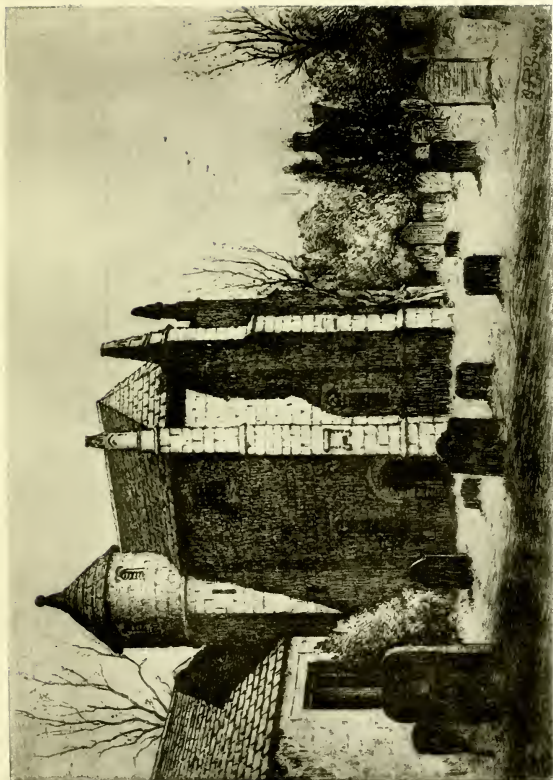
By her he had issue—

- II. James, his heir.
- III. Robert, who married Marion Lundie, sister of Robert Lundie of Benholm, and widow of Alexander Keith of Pittendrum, son of William, third Earl Marischal. The marriage contract is dated 22nd September, 1515. His name, as "Mr. Robert Arbuthnot," appears in the Arbuthnot entails of 1542 and 1545. He seems for a time to have been in occupation of the lands of Banff, and had a natural son, Andrew, who obtained letters of legitimation in September, 1553.
- IV. George, living in 1509. He is said to have died in France, and to have left no issue.
- V. Andrew, in Pitcarles, of whom presently.
 - I. Elizabeth, married first Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie, and secondly Martin of Cardowne.
 - II. Catherine, married first (before September, 1499) David Auchinleck, eldest son of Hugh Auchinleck of that Ilk, and secondly (in 1515) Gilbert Turing of Foveran,—dispensation dated 12th April, 1515.
 - III. Christian, married Alexander Fraser of Durriss.
 - IV. Giles, married first Henry Grahame of Morphie, secondly Andrew Strachan of Tibbertie, and thirdly Thomas Fraser of Stonywood.
 - V. Janet, married first (before 9th December, 1512) Alexander Falconer, eldest son of George Falconer of Halkerton, and secondly George Auchinleck of Over Kinnimonth.
 - VI. Mariota, married James Bisset of Easter Kinneff.
 - VII. Isabel, died before 15th January, 1535.

One of these daughters, or another whose name is not known, was married to David Rait of Drumnagar, the marriage contract being dated 23rd January, 1490.*

Robert Arbuthnot had also a natural son, Patrick, who studied medicine in France and attained to great skill in his profession. He was appointed physician to King James V,

* *Arbuthnot Papers.*



The Arbutnott Aisle, Arbutnott Church.

and various entries respecting payments to him are found in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer. For instance, in 1527, we find the following entry :

" Item, to Doctor Arbuthnot, the Kingis mediciner, away-tand daily on the Kingis service, to his expens be the Kingis precept—£240."

And in 1531 :

" Item, to Doctour Arbuthnot quhen he lay seik,—£30.

In 1533 we read :

" Item, the third day of October, to ane boy to pas with writingis fra my lordis Thesaurer and secretar to Doctour Arbuthnot to cause him cum to Edinburgh—4/-."

In the Exchequer Rolls sundry payments to him are noted for fodder for his horses, his annual allowance for this purpose being fixed at £26 13s. 4d.

From 1531 onwards he appears as the recipient of a pension of £66 13s. 4d.

In February, 1530-31, he had letters of legitimation granted him. A note in the *Arbuthnott Missal* states that he died in 1540 and that he had been Rector of Menmuir and Newlands, and Canon of Dunkeld.

Robert Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot died in 1505.

The fifth son of Robert Arbuthnot and Mariota Scrymgeour, Andrew, "in Pitcarles," received from George Straiton a charter of the lands of Little Fiddes to himself in liferent and to his son Robert in fee. He is said to have greatly assisted his son, Principal Arbuthnot, in the compilation of the *History of the Arbuthnot Family*. His testament was recorded 16th January, 1571, he having died in August, 1570. His estate consisted of farm-stock valued at £721 12s. 4d. There was owing to him a debt of £160 by his son George. One hundred merks of this he leaves to Katherine Arbuthnot, "eldest daughter of the said George, towards her marriage, and the remainder to be equally divided among the rest of the said George Arbuthnot's children." He discharges all debts owing to him by his eldest son, Robert. To Mr. Alexander Arbuthnot, his youngest son, he leaves the steading and room of Pitcarles. He appoints his three sons, Robert, George and Mr. Alexander to be his executors. He leaves to his daughter

Katherine and her husband, Alexander Arbuthnot (unidentified), £40, and to all his children his blessing.

Andrew Arbuthnot in Pitcarles married Elizabeth Strachan, daughter of Alexander Strachan of Thornton, and by her had—

I. Robert, who succeeded his father in the estate of Little Fiddes.

II. George, who, as we have seen, had a daughter Katherine and other children not mentioned by name in their grandfather's will. This George was most probably identical with George Arbuthnot "in Barnehill," in the parish of Kinneff, who died in August, 1573. If so, Katherine may have been dead by that year, for she is not mentioned in the will of George Arbuthnot in Barnehill, recorded 13th February, 1581-2. The children named therein are John, Andrew, George, William, Archibald, and Margaret. Among debts owing to him at the time of his death is one of £8 due from Robert Arbuthnot "of Little Futheis." In 1595 we find mention of a Robert Arbuthnot "in Barnehill," burgess of Aberdeen, who gets sasine of some fishing on the Don as heir male of conquest to "the deceast Mr. Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of the College of Aberdeen and burgess thereof, father's brother of the said Robert." It is reasonable to assume that this Robert was the eldest son of the above-named George Arbuthnot, as otherwise it is difficult to see how he could have been *nephew* to Principal Arbuthnot. The eldest son was frequently not mentioned in his father's will, if already provided for. We find that the mother of Robert Arbuthnot "in Barnehill" was Elizabeth (or Isobel) Moncur, living in 1609, who seems to have married secondly Andrew Grahame of Fernyflett. Robert Arbuthnot in Barnehill appears to have been husband of Margaret Fullertoun in 1596, in a transaction relating to land in Inverbervie, redeemed by Mr. Jerome Lindsay in that year.

¹ *Arbuthnot Papers*, Advocates' Library.

III. Alexander, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, of whom below.

I. Katherine, married to Alexander Arbuthnot, and had issue.

The third son, Principal Alexander Arbuthnot, was a very learned and distinguished member of the family, being noted as an ardent Presbyterian divine, a scholar, poet, philosopher, mathematician and chemist. He was educated at St. Andrews, and later at Bourges, whence he returned to Scotland in 1566, with the intention of becoming an advocate. He, however, relinquished this idea, and was shortly afterwards ordained a preacher of the Reformed Church. It was about the year 1567, according to Mr. Macphail, that he compiled his Latin *History of the Arbuthnot Family*, the original MS. of which is fortunately extant and in Lord Arbuthnott's possession. The author tells us that he had the assistance of his father while putting it together, the latter being an old man of seventy, who, besides supplying many facts from his own knowledge and recollection, was able to transmit to his son many tales of bygone days related to him by his own forebears. Principal Arbuthnot's work is entitled *Originis et Incrementi Familiæ Arbuthnoticæ, Descriptio Historica*, and, after receiving several additions from Mr. Robert Arbuthnot, his relative and successor as minister at Arbuthnott, it was translated into quaint old Scots by Mr. Morrison, parson of Benholme.* Some years later, a continuation of this work was written by the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot, also minister of Arbuthnott, and father of Dr. John Arbuthnot, physician to Queen Anne.

Principal Alexander Arbuthnot was minister of Logie Buchan in 1568, and of Forve and Arbuthnott in 1569. In the latter year he was elected Principal of King's College,

* John Moir, who examined the original MS., states that the translation is rather free, and, being written in the old Scottish dialect, sometimes assumes a ludicrous character. For instance, he tells us that, "After a curious Dedication the author defines, in rather a singular manner, the higher and lower ranks—the former of whom he terms *Nobilis* and the latter *Rascallis* (Nobles and Rascals)—a singularity of expression to be attributed to the translator, or, rather, to the peculiar modes of writing and thinking then prevalent in Scotland; for when the translator denominates the lower ranks *rascals*, on turning to the corresponding word in the original, we find *plebs* is used, signifying *common people*, and so of other words."—John Moir's MS. *History*.

Aberdeen, being the first of the Reformed Church to hold that office. In 1572 he attended the General Assembly which met at St. Andrews, and in the same year he published at Edinburgh his *Orationes de Origine et Dignitate Juris*, of which, unfortunately, not a single copy is known to exist. In 1573 he was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly, which met in Edinburgh. In 1574 he was directed to assist with other learned authorities in drawing up a plan of ecclesiastical government for the consideration of the Assembly—"to confer, reason and put in forme the ecclesiastical policy and ordour of the governing of the Kirk as they sall find maist agreeable to the trewth of goddis word," etc.

In October, 1575, he obtained for 600 merks a tack of the shadow half of the town and lands of Kincorth, in the Barony of Torry, in Kincardineshire, from Gilbert Menzies of Cowley and Robert Menzies, his brother, burgess of Aberdeen. These lands were wadset to him and the "heirs of his body, whom failing, to Robert Arbuthnot of Little Futhes, his brother-german, for his lifetime, and after him to John Arbuthnot, second son of the said Robert," etc.¹

On 26th January, 1575-6, a contract was signed between Principal Arbuthnot and Alexander Chalmer, younger, burgess of Aberdeen, whereby the latter wadsets to him (with remainder to his brother and nephew as before) the lands of Kingshill.²

In 1577 he was once more chosen Moderator of the General Assembly, and a little later he and two others were desired by the Assembly to request the King to dismiss the French Ambassador, for persisting in popish practices. Doubtless these and other activities tended to alienate the King, who looked with little favour on the rapid growth and development of the powerful and ultra-democratic Presbyterian party in the Church.

In 1583, when he had been chosen minister of St. Andrews by the Assembly, he received an imperious Royal command to return to his duties at King's College, Aberdeen, on pain of being put to the horn. This severity is said to have hastened his end. He sank into a decline, and died on the 16th of October, 1583, in his forty-fifth year. He was buried in the parish church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, "afor the pulpitt,"

¹ *Aberdeen Burgh Court Deeds.*

² *Ibid.*

but there appears to be no stone to mark the spot. A tablet bearing his arms is to be seen on the north wall of Arbuthnott Church, and, more recently, his arms have been twice introduced into the side windows of the Mitchell Hall, Marischal College, Aberdeen.

“He was,” writes Mackenzie,¹ “as we have said, one of the great promoters of the Reformation, and consulted by all their General Assemblies in the affairs of their Church, and although he was of the same Principles with *Buchanan* and Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, yet he was much more moderate; and if he was not so good a Poet as *Buchanan*, or so great a Master of the purity of the Roman Language as he was, yet he was a learned and more universal scholar; for *Bishop Spotswood* tells us that he was expert in all the Sciences, a good Poet, Mathematician, Philosopher, Theologue, Lawyer, and skilful in Medicine; so that in every Subject he could promptly discourse and to good purpose. And the same Reverend Prelate tells us, that besides these Qualifications, by his diligent Teaching and dexterous Government, he not only revived the Study of Good Letters, but gained many from the Superstitions to which they were given. He was greatly loved of all Men, hated of none, and in such Account for his Moderation with the chief Men of these Parts (meaning the North) that without his Advice they could almost do nothing, which put him to great Fashery, whereof he did often complain; yet he was very pleasant and jocund in Conversation.”²

Three Scottish poems composed by Principal Arbuthnot were printed in 1786 in Pinkerton's *Ancient Scottish Poems*. They are taken from a MS. collection formerly belonging to Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, himself a poet of some merit. This unique collection lay long hidden in the Pepysian Library at Magdalen College, Cambridge, having been presented to Samuel Pepys by the Duke of Lauderdale, the lineal descendant of Sir Richard. It fell to John Pinkerton to rediscover and publish the collection, and he greatly added to its interest by including notes on each poet as well as on the

¹ *Scottish Writers*, vol. iii. p. 192.

² A Latin epitaph in praise of Principal Arbuthnot was composed by his friend, Andrew Melville, and will be found in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 120.

various poems. Of Principal Arbuthnot, however, he has nothing to tell us. "All I know of this poet," he says, "is that he was a clergyman; and that some of his productions are in this collection." Yet Principal Arbuthnot was in his day one of the first scholars of Scotland, and has even been pronounced one of the first of his age.

Of the three poems preserved by Sir Richard Maitland, the two first are written in a light vein, and his scholarly attainments cannot be estimated from them.

The first is headed,

THE PRAISES OF WEMEN,
BY MAISTER ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOT.

It is a very long poem. Pinkerton remarks that "Mr. Arbuthnot is no mean poet; but his love of this subject has made him rather prolix." He seems, indeed, to have been filled to overflowing with enthusiasm for his theme. If one may venture to judge, his ideal for the weaker vessel seems to be expressed in the following lines:—

To man obedient
Evin lyk ane willie wand.
Bayth faythfull and fervent,
Ay reddie at command, etc.

This submissive attitude being taken for granted, the Principal has nothing but eulogies for the fair sex, his cordial advice to men being to enter the married state forthwith.

Ane lyife full of delyite
Gif ye your dayis wald drie;
In pastyme maist perfyite
Gif that ye list to be;
In gud estait, baith air and lait,
Gif ye wald leif or die;
With women deill. Its trew I tell;
Yeis luik I sall not lie.

It does not appear that Principal Arbuthnot took his own advice, for he never married, and doubtless a very affectionate, if exacting, husband was lost to one of the fair ladies of the period.

His short poem on love can be given at length :

ON LUVE.

He that luifis lichtliet,
 Sall not happin on the best.
 He that luifis langest,
 Sall have rest surest.
 He that luvis all his best
 Sall chance upon the gudliest.
 Quha sa in luif is trew and plaine,
 He sall be luft weill agane.

The third poem, entitled " The Miseries of a Pure Scholar," was written in 1572, and is a more serious composition, inspired by the troubles and changes of the period in which the writer found himself, and expresses his sad feeling that the " wratchid world " is all awry. He contemplates the divisions, tyrannies and hypocrisies of his age with a sensation of despair.

The following lines are expressive and characteristic :

Under my God, I wald obey my prince ;
 Bot civile weir dois sa trouble the cais,
 That scarcely wait I quham to reverence ;
 Quhat till eschew, or quhat for till embrace.
 Our nobils now sa fickil ar, alace !
 This day thai say, the morne thai will repent.
 Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament ?

Faine wald I leif in concord, and in peice ;
 Without divisioun, rancour, or debait.
 Bot now, alace ! in every land and place,
 The fyr of hatrent kindlit is so hait,
 That cheretie doth ring in nane estait ;
 Thoch all concur to hurt the innocent.
 Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament ?

I luif justice ; and wald that everie man
 Had that quhilk richtlie dois to him perteine ;
 Yet all my kyn, allya, or my clan,
 In richt or wrang I man always mantene,
 I maun applaud, quhen thai thair matters mene,
 Thoch conscience thairto do not consent,
 Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament ?

The revolt suggested in the last-quoted lines against the tyranny of clan-allegiance is interesting, and probably unusual, as coming from a cadet of one of the old territorial families, to whom " clannishness " was almost a religion. Principal Arbuthnot here shows himself far in advance of the opinions

current in his day. Pinkerton says : " This is a most interesting poem ; and does great honor to the heart and head of its author."

We must now take up the line of Principal Arbuthnot's eldest brother,

Robert Arbuthnot of Little Fiddes, who succeeded his father, and married (in 1555) Isabel, daughter of Alexander Burnett of Leys. He was Sheriff-Depute of Kincardineshire under the Earl Marischal in 1587. He had a tack of the teinds of Little Fiddes in 1589, and died before 30th July, 1606. He had issue—

- I. Andrew, his heir.
- II. John, second son, named in the contract of 1575, as already mentioned, when the lands of Kincorth were wadset to Principal Arbuthnot, with remainder to Robert Arbuthnot of Little Fiddes, and after him to " John Arbuthnot, second son of the said Robert."
- III. Alexander. Travelled as tutor to Sir Alexander Home of Manderston for three years preceding 1617. Was living in 1627, apparently in Aberdeen.
- IV. Peter, pedagogue to Lord Thirlestone in 1607.
 - I. Catherine, married to her cousin, Alexander Burnett of Leys.

The eldest son, Andrew Arbuthnot of Little Fiddes, was served heir to his father 10th May, 1617, and died 7th April, 1626. He married first Sara Strachan, and secondly Janet Gordon (living, his widow, in 1640), and left issue—

- I. Robert, his heir.
- I. Sara, living 1627. Married to Robert Stuart of Inchbreck.

Robert Arbuthnot of Little Fiddes, son of the above Andrew, was infeft in Fiddes 20th June, 1627, but sold the estate to his cousin, Andrew, second son of Sir Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk and Margaret Fraser (p. 64). He married first Margaret Barclay, who died in 1624 ; secondly Jean Burnett, daughter of James Burnett of Craigmyle ; and thirdly (in 1642) Mary, daughter of David Arbuthnot of Pitcarles.

By his first wife he had—

- I. Margaret, married first Robert Arbuthnot of Caterline, eldest son of David Arbuthnot of Auchterforfar—contract being dated 19th April, 1642,—and had issue. She married secondly (before 16th January, 1657) as his second wife, Sir George Ogilvy of Barras, noted for his gallant defence of Dunnottar Castle in 1652, and his consequent share in the preservation of the Regalia of Scotland. The Lady Ogilvy who took so prominent a part in that adventure was, however, his first wife, a Douglas by birth. In 1678 Sir George Ogilvy and Margaret Arbuthnot were possessors of the estate of Kinghornie, which in that year they disposed to William Rait of Halgreen. This estate afterwards came into the possession of the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot, who bought it from William Rait in 1690.

Robert Arbuthnot of Little Fiddes had issue by his second wife, Jean Burnett—

- I. James, merchant burgess of Montrose in 1678, retoured eldest son and heir of Robert Arbuthnot of Little Fiddes in that year.
- II. Andrew, born 1632, died young.
- II. Anne, married (1646) James Allardyce, and had issue.
- III. Marjorie, born 1639, married (1659) Alexander Keith of Cowtown, afterwards of Uras, and had issue.

By his third wife, Mary Arbuthnot, Robert Arbuthnot had issue—

- III. Andrew (second of the name), born 1642.
- IV. Robert, born 1644.
- V. Alexander, born 1649.
- VI. Patrick, born 1651, died in 1704.
- IV. Jean, died in 1681, unmarried.

James Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot, eldest son of Robert Arbuthnot and Marion Scrymgeour, was served heir to

his father, 11th January, 1506.¹ He had a charter of the lands of Arbuthnot from the King in 1506-7, with those of Portertown, Orchardtown, Halgreen and others. In 1512 his title to the lands was again confirmed in a new charter. In 1520 he had a licence to proceed on a pilgrimage to the Church of St. Jean of Amiens in France. In his *Continuation of Principal Arbuthnot's History*, the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot writes of this James: "He was removed by immature death in ye flower of his age in ye year 1521, and to him succeeded Robert his son ye third of y^t name, so called after his grandfather."

James Arbuthnot married (contract dated 31st August, 1507) Lady Jean Stewart, fourth daughter of John, second Earl of Atholl of the Stewart line. This marriage has already been referred to, in connection with the heraldic shields on an old tomb at Arbuthnott Church, which there is good reason to suppose is the tomb of James Arbuthnot.²

By Lady Jean Stewart, James Arbuthnot had issue—

- I. Robert, his heir.
- II. Patrick, who is named in his father's will of 7th March, 1521. (He was probably dead by 1542, for he is not mentioned in the entail of the Arbuthnot estates that year).
- III. David, who succeeded his uncle, Dr. Patrick Arbuthnot, as Rector of Menmuir and Canon of Dunkeld. He was killed at the Battle of Pinkie in 1547.
- I. Isabel, married first (before 1531) David Ochterlony of Kellie, and secondly (in 1545) Robert Maule of Panmure.

The eldest son, Robert Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot, was served heir to his father in the family estates in 1522.³ In 1527 there is "Disposition for serving Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk air to his father, James, notwithstanding of his minorite,"⁴ and it appears that he got sasine of the whole of the family estates (Orchardtown, Portertown, Portarcroft, Halgreen and Elpitie are named among them) in 1528-9.⁵

¹ *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vol. xii. p. 719.

² See p. 27 note.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xv. p. 599.

⁴ *Arbuthnot Papers*, in *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. pp. 107-8.

⁵ *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vol. xv. p. 675.

This Robert Arbuthnot added very considerably to the estates of the family. In 1538-9 a charter was confirmed by the Crown of William, Earl Marischal, who sold to his "kinsman," Robert Arbuthnot, "de eodem" certain lands in the Barony of Dun in Forfarshire. In 1542 the King granted to Robert a charter of confirmation of the lands of Arbuthnot, in which they are entailed on the heirs-male of his body, failing whom on his brother David and his heirs, failing whom, on his uncle, Mr. Robert Arbuthnot, and his heirs, failing whom, on his cousin, John Arbuthnot in Portertown, failing whom, on John's brother, James, whom we know to have been of (or, more probably, "in") Little Fiddes. As we shall hope to show that John Arbuthnot of Portertown (son of David Arbuthnot and Christian Rhind (p. 86)), was ancestor to the Aberdeenshire Arbuthnots, this entail is of great genealogical importance, confirming the near relationship between the two branches of the family.

In 1544-5 Robert Arbuthnot obtained a charter in feu farm of the ecclesiastical lands in the Kirktown of Arbuthnot, with some salmon fishing in the Bervie, from Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, thus coming into peaceful possession of the lands which had formerly been a cause of feud between his ancestors and the clerical superiors of the soil. This charter was confirmed by the Queen at Edinburgh, 10th February, 1544-5.

In 1545 the Crown confirmed a charter to him and his second wife, Christian Keith, of the lands of "Petquhorthy" and "Caldcottis."

In 1553 he resigned his estates to his eldest son, Andrew, and his wife, Elizabeth Carnegie, reserving to himself only a liferent interest in them.

In 1568 Robert Arbuthnot was summoned by the Regent Murray to "prepare and address yourself, accompanyit with your honest freindis and servandis, in your maist substantial maner, to be in Edinburgh, the XIII day of August nixtocum." This was for the convening of Parliament in the infant King's name, Mary Stuart having been deposed and removed to Lochleven. The letter is addressed "To our truist freind the Lard of Arbuthnot," and is signed "James, Regent."

* *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 109. *Arbuthnot Papers*.

On 21st May, 1569, Robert Arbuthnot and his third wife, Helen Clephane, and their son James, acting through their attorney, James Arbuthnot, burgess of Aberdeen (see p. 95), got sasine of "the sunny half of the half town and lands of Boighill and mill thereof, in the shire of the Bishopric of Aberdeen."

A charter of the sale of the lands of Harthill in the Barony of Pitmeddan to Robert Arbuthnot, by Patrick Leith of Harthill, was signed at Aberdeen 5th January, 1569-70. The following day Patrick Leith took up a nine years' lease of this very property from Robert Arbuthnot. The tack was registered at Aberdeen, 6th January, 1569-70.

On 7th September, 1570, a contract was signed at Aberdeen between James Arbuthnot, burgess of that city, acting for Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk, as before, on the one part, and John Mar, portioner of Auchterforfar on the other, whereby Mar obliges himself to infeft Robert Arbuthnot and the heirs-male of himself and Helen Clephane, and, failing them, his son Robert—fourth son by the second wife, Christian Keith—in the sunny half of the lands of Auchterforfar.¹

Robert Arbuthnot was thrice married, first to Katherine Erskine, daughter of John Erskine of Dun, the marriage contract being dated 2nd March, 1526. She died at Arbuthnott 15th June, 1529, without issue. Her husband married secondly Christian Keith, eldest daughter of Robert, Lord Keith, eldest son of William, third Earl Marischal. She died in 1553, and the inventory of her goods was made "at the place of Arbuthnot" on 12th July, 1553, in the presence of her eldest daughter Jean, of James, eldest son of John Arbuthnot in Portertoun,² of Christian Fraser, mother of the said James, and others. There was due to her by Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird the balance of 600 merks for the marriage of Andrew Arbuthnot, son and apparent heir of the said Robert, and she was due for the expenses of her two sons at the schools 40 merks. Her body is to be buried in the Arbuthnot Aisle in the parish Church of Arbuthnot, and she appoints

¹ *Aberdeen Burgh Court Deeds.*

² This James Arbuthnot we shall show to have been almost certainly afterwards "of Lentusche," and ancestor of the Lairds of Cairngall.

her husband her sole executor. The will was confirmed 4th April, 1557.¹

Robert Arbuthnot had issue by Christian Keith—

- I. Andrew, his heir.
- II. John of Mondynes, who is named in the Arbuthnott entail of 5th March, 1587–8, married first Katherine, daughter of Alexander Pitcairn of Mondynes, and secondly Elizabeth, daughter of Grahame of Morphie. By his first wife he had issue—
 - (1) Andrew, whom the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot describes as having been very cruelly treated by his stepmother. He died before 1600. By his second wife, Elizabeth Grahame, John Arbuthnot had issue—
 - (2) Robert, who was friar of Mondynes in 1607, and married Margaret Symmer. He was served heir to his father in Mondynes in 1616.
 - (3) William, served heir in 1617, sold Mondynes to Sir Robert Arbuthnot for £10,000. He had one daughter, Mary, living in 1619.
- III. Alexander, “in Pitcarles,” and of Auchterforfar, of whom presently.
- IV. Mr. Robert, in holy orders, of whom the Rev. Alexander says: “He travelled into France, where for divers years he followed his studies with great proficiency therein, and after his return to Scotland was presented by his father to the parsonage of Arbuthnott, and served the cure there the residue of his life, which was celibat and chast, and resided constantlie with his brother in Pitcarles (there being no manse builded then at the church for the incumbent), to whom he legated all his goods when he died.”
 - I. Jean, married James Clephane of Hilcainey, younger son of George Clephane of Carslogie, contract being dated 7th February, 1557.

¹ *Arbuthnot Papers.*

- II. Agnes, married Alexander Straiton, eldest son of George Straiton of that Ilk, probably about 1553.
- III. Christian, married, probably about 1556, George Symmer, eldest son of George Symmer of Balzordie. She died before 30th April, 1583, leaving issue.
- IV. Isobel, married Alexander Strachan of Brigtown, and died before 4th March, 1587.

In the *Scots Peerage* it is stated that there were two other daughters of this marriage, one of whom died young, while the other married another member of the family of Clephane.

Robert Arbuthnot married thirdly, in September, 1553, Helen, daughter of George Clephane of Carslogie, and by her (who married secondly Alexander Campbell, Bishop of Brechin) had issue—

- V. David of Findowrie, in Angus, who married first Elizabeth, daughter of Rait of Halgreen, and secondly a daughter of Stuart of Inchbreck. By his first wife he had issue Robert of Findowrie, who died before 17th May, 1681, having married, in 1616, Margaret, daughter of Sir William Grahame of Claverhouse, and relict of George Symmer of Balzeordie. By her he had issue, with others—Robert of Findowrie, who died in 1693 (though his will was not proved till 1745), and married Elizabeth, daughter of William Rait of Halgreen, mentioned as his betrothed wife in 1641. By her he had—besides several daughters, one of whom, Marjorie, married Francis Farquharson of Finzean—Alexander of Findowrie, born in 1658, who married Margaret, daughter of Sir Alexander Lindsay of Evelick, Bart., and died in 1688, having by her had issue, with others, a son, Alexander of Findowrie, born in 1685, who married Margaret Ochterlony, and died in 1745, leaving only daughters, the eldest of whom, Margaret, inherited Findowrie, and married in 1734 James Carnegy of Balnamoon, a prominent Jacobite, who took an active part in the '45.

being known as the "rebel Laird," and Jean, who married, as his second wife, John Arbuthnott of Fordoun, afterwards sixth Viscount Arbuthnott (p. 76). From the marriage of the elder sister, Margaret, the present Mr. James Carnegie-Arbuthnott of Balnamoon and Findowrie descends. The family bear the Arbuthnott arms, differenced with a bordure argent, quartered with those of Carnegie. It is a curious fact that since the marriage of Margaret Arbuthnott, heiress of Findowrie, to James Carnegie in 1734, the estates of Findowrie and Balnamoon have never passed directly from father to son. The line has several times been carried on through heiresses, passing sometimes from mother to son, but the family have always retained the name Arbuthnott, and the old Arbuthnott property of Findowrie, now little more than a farm.

- VI. James "in Garriotsmyre," a holding on the Arbuthnot estates. As has been mentioned, his name occurs in a sasine to his parents of the lands of Boighill in 1569-70. In 1602 he was tutor to the children of his deceased brother, David, Laird of Findowrie. He died September, 1608.
- VII. George, mentioned in a sasine to his parents of the lands of Halwestoun previous to 1580. He was living in 1598.
- VIII. William of Blackstoun in Angus. He was succeeded in that estate by his son Alexander, who was in turn succeeded by his son, James, who married Margaret Rattray, and sold Blackstoun to John Ogilvy, younger, of Balfour, in 1672.
- V. Elizabeth, married to James Mortimer of Craigievar.
- VI. Katherine, married, about 1577, James Ogilvy of Balfour, and had issue.
- VII. A daughter, married to Lindsay of Barnyards.
- VIII. Margaret, married to David Ogilvy of Persie.

Robert Arbuthnot's will is dated at "Fendowrie" 17th June, 1578. He leaves his body to be buried where God

pleases, and bequeathes 80 merks to his bastard son, "Hucheon,"¹ a chain of gold to David Arbuthnot, his eldest son by Helen Clephane, and his part of the "plenishing" in the Mains of Arbuthnot, Elpettie, the half of Cauldcoittis and Fendowrie to his children "unhelpit gotten and to be gotten between him and the said Helen" in equal divisions. This was confirmed 21st November, 1580.

Robert Arbuthnot died 15th October, 1579, and was "honourable interred in the Isle of Arbuthnott builded by his grandfather of worthie memory."

After enumerating his large family, the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot says: "Thus you may see with how numerous and hopeful a progenie God blessed this good Laird Robert, he had by his two worthie Ladies, viz: Ladie Christian Keith and Dam Helen Clepan eighteen sons and daughters which arrived to the perfect age of men and women and he saw them all (except Mr. Robert and one daughter) honestly and honourably married in his own time and bestowed on them large patrimonys without the least diminution of his old estate, which he rather bettered. This shews what a worthie and virtuous man he was and that in him was verified what the Lord promises to them that fear him and walk in his ways Psal. 128."

Alexander Arbuthnot "in Pitcarles" and of Auchterforfar, third son of Robert Arbuthnot and Christian Keith, (p. 53), married Margaret Middleton, whose testament is recorded in 1607. He died 10th April, 1614, leaving issue—

- I. David, his heir.
- II. John, living 1620.
- III. Andrew, who was infest in Crimond Gorthie in 1623.
- IV. Mr. George, living 1620.
- V. Robert, living 1620.

The eldest son, David Arbuthnot, married Jean, daughter of John Keith of Cowtown, the marriage contract being dated December, 1610. On 12th June, 1629, he was served

¹ This Hucheon or Hugh obtained letters of legitimization in 1580, dated from Holyrood, 26th November that year.—*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, vol. iv. No. 45.

heir to his father in Auchterforfar, but sold this estate and bought that of Caterline. He died before 19th March, 1644. He left issue—

- I. Robert, who seems to have owned Caterline in his father's lifetime, and married Margaret, daughter of Robert Arbuthnot of Fiddes, and by her (who married secondly Sir George Ogilvy of Barras, as we have seen) had issue—

- (1) Robert, served heir to his father in 1666, sold Caterline in 1669 to his cousin, Simon Arbuthnot (p. 67) ;

- (2) Alexander (Dr.), living 1690 ;

- (3) David ;¹

- (1) Jean, married George Rait in Kinghorne.

- II. Alexander of Pitcarles, married Margaret Haliburton, and died in 1693, leaving issue—

- (1) Alexander, born 1662, died young ;

- (1) Katharine, born 1654, married James Thomson of Arduthie ;

- (2) Jean, born 1655 ;

- (3) Margaret, born 1657, married David Guthrie of Kair and Castletown, and died in 1711.

- III. John, born in 1633.

- I. Mary, married in 1642 Robert Arbuthnot of Little Fiddes.

- II. Susanna.

- III. Helen, born 1634, was twice married, first to Captain James Haliburton, and secondly to George Kin-naird of Couston.

The eldest son of Robert Arbuthnot and Christian Keith, Andrew Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot, appears as "feuar of Arbuthnot" in 1553, 1558, and 1577-8. The Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot has much to say in praise of him. "This Andrew was the excellent son of an excellent father for by his honest

¹ Was this the David Arbuthnot, afterwards of Weymouth, who matriculated his arms between 1680 and 1687, as being descended of the third son of the Arbuthnot family, his great-grandfather ? And if so, was his brother "Mr. Robert Arbuthnot," afterwards minister of Crichton and Cranstoun, and grandfather of Admiral Marriott Arbuthnot ? There was a tradition in the Admiral's family as to the estate of Caterline. See Appendix V, where his descent is discussed.

industrie and prudent management of his affairs he augmented his fortune very much, he bought the lands of Arrat, Pitforthie, &c. in Angus amounting to the value of near 3,000 merks of yearly revenue, as also the lands designed Silleflett &c. commonly called three nynt parts of Inverbervy and left behind him very considerable sums of mony which were frugally bestowed and employed by his successors for the good of their family, he also helped what was either deficient or amiss in the old securitys and writes of the family, and put them in much better order than formerly they were and in all his new purchases and conquests (which were considerable) he never did the least act of injustice and oppression to any, and to shew how much he abhorred anything that had a tendency that way I judge it will not be impertinent to relate a storie of this good and upright man which I had from persons of unquestionable fame.

“ This Andrew being superiour of the lands of Arduthie (Stonehaven) and he who had the right of property at that time having as foolishly as unjustly disclaimed him as his superior and taken the land holden of some other person, by which act he forfeited the right of property and it did access to Andrew as superiour of the feudall law and constant practice of the nation in such cases and this Laird Andrew being admonished thereof, and advised by some of his friends to make use of his privilege the law granted him he asked them if ever he had paid money for that land, they answered no ; then said he, I never will possess that for which I paid not the just value, and after he had sent for the man, and convinced him of his errour, he dismissed him with a new holding of his land, and when this excellent Laird had arrived at a full old age he was gathered to his fathers in peace and intombed in their antient sepulchre March 6th, the year of our Lord 1606.”

Among the Arbuthnot papers printed in the second volume of the *Spalding Club Miscellany* is the following letter, from George, Master of Marischal, to Andrew Arbuthnot. It is dated 1580, and runs as follows :

“ Rycht honorabill and weil belouit Cousing, I haue onderstand be this bearer that, at my requeist, ye ar willing your eldest sone suld spend a pairt of his tyme in my company,

quhairinto I think myself oblist wnto yow, assurand yow that he sall be no oder wayis usit and tratit thane my selff, and sall laik nathing that may be ffor his fordrance that lyis in my pouer. Fairdermoir, the minister, our cousing, schew me that ye wald haue knawin in quhat equipage, concernyng his horssis, seruantis, and claiss, it war meit he suld be. My opinion is, that he will nocht mistar ony seruants, in respect myne sall haue that command to weit upon him; also, as concernyng his horsis, indeid I think he will mister tway, in respect of the kingis grace daylie ryding, quhairat baith I and he man continuallie be present; as to his manner of clething, in that he may haue his awin fre will; yit, seing he will be esteemed as off my company, I think it will nocht be on meit to be in blak, bot in all thais ye sall do as ye think guid. I haue schawin my opinion onlie becauss I was requered off it. I suppose that I sall nocht gang to the court quhyll efter my Lord Marris brydell, quhilk will be in the end of this moneth, so that in the mene tyme, giff ye and he thinkis guid, he may cum over heir and pass the tyme in huntyng, or ony oder pastyme as sall occurre. So nocht wylling to truble yow with farder letter, bot with my hartlie commendation to your bedfellow and sonnis; quhome, and yow, I commit to the protection of the Almychty, our guid God. From Dunnotter, this XXII off October, 1580, be

Your assured guid Freind,

MASTIR MARSCHALL.

To the rycht honorabill and weil belouit cousing,
the Laird of Arbuthnot, delyuer this." 1

Andrew Arbuthnot obtained from his father a charter of the lands of Futhes (Fiddes) in 1553, and in 1593 acquired by purchase the lands of Magdalene Chapel or Chapelton in Forfar. This last estate was settled on his youngest son, Patrick, and his heirs. In 1587-8 a charter was granted to his son Robert, re-entailing the Arbuthnot estates, the heirs being named as follows: After the heirs-male of Robert Arbuthnot, the heritage passes to his brother, James Arbuthnot of Arrat and his heirs; then to his brother Patrick, of Magdalene Chapel, and his heirs; then to their uncle, John Arbuthnot of

¹ *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. pp. 110-111.

Mondynes and his heirs ; then to the latter's brother, Alexander Arbuthnot of Auchterforfar and his heirs ; then to his brother, Mr. Robert Arbuthnot, minister of Arbuthnot, and his heirs ; after him to David of Findowrie, a fourth brother, his brothers James, George, and William and their heirs in succession, and failing these to the nearest heir-male in the family. This charter was dated at Holyrood, 5th March, 1587-8.

In 1589 Andrew Arbuthnot was the recipient of a letter from King James IV dated at Edinburgh, 30th August, 1589, in which he is requested to send some fat beef and mutton, wild fowl and venison " or other stuff " to assist in the entertainment of those who were bringing the Queen to Scotland.¹ The following year, another Royal letter, dated from Holyrood, 11th May, 1590, bids him send " stuff and provision " in view of the Queen's coronation.²

Andrew Arbuthnot married first Elizabeth Carnegie (contract dated 7th August, 1553), daughter of Robert Carnegie of Kinnaird, with whom he received a tocher of £900 Scots and a number of useful commodities, such as corn, cattle, and plenishings. She died 23rd October, 1563, intestate, and the inventory of her goods was given up by her children, George, James, Patrick, and Helen Arbuthnot on the 11th July, 1565.

By Elizabeth Carnegie Andrew Arbuthnot had issue—

- I. Robert (Sir), his heir.
- II. George, apparently died without male issue before 21st June, 1582.
- III. James, portioner of Arrat. He was a " well accomplished gentleman of a comlie personage and courteous and sagacious in all his administrations." He is mentioned in his mother's testament in 1563 and, as we have seen, in the Arbuthnot entail of 1587-8. His father bought for him the lands of Arrat in patrimony, and he married Margaret Livingstone, daughter of John Livingstone of Dunipace—" an antient Baron and then of an opulent and flourishing estate, but since, by the providence of God, that family is decayed and ruined." He died in 1606.

¹ *Arbuthnot Papers*, in the Advocates' Library.

² *Ibid.*

By Margaret Livingstone he had—

- (1) Robert of Arrat, afterwards of Arbuthnot, who succeeded his uncle Robert as head of the family, of whom presently.
- (2) James, who was of Cairnibeg in 1620, and later of Dulladies. He was Tutor of Arbuthnot after his brother Robert's death in 1633. He acquired the estate of Arbeikie, and was living September, 1653. He married Elizabeth Blair, daughter of Alexander Blair of Balthayock, and by her had: (1) Robert (Captain), who died in 1674, leaving issue by his wife, Anne Douglas, relict of Mr. James Sibbald, two daughters, Elizabeth, wife of Mr. James Douglas, minister of Aboyne and later of Arbuthnot, and Catherine, wife of Mr. Francis Melville, minister of Arbuthnot. (2) Thomas, born 1635.
- (3) James, born 1639. (1) Marjorie, born 1637. (2) Elizabeth, wife of John Garden, eldest son of David Garden of Lawton.

IV. Patrick, of Magdalene Chapel or Chapelton and Nether Pitforthies. He married a daughter of Rait of Halgreen, and died before 5th May, 1603, without issue.

- I. Helen, was one of the executors of her mother in 1565. She married Alexander Fraser, eldest son of Thomas Fraser of Durris, and left issue.

Andrew Arbuthnot married secondly Margaret Hoppringil, "daughter to an antient Baron in Fife," by whom he had no issue. He died at Arbuthnott 16th March, 1606.

The eldest son, Sir Robert Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot, received from his father the lands of Whitefield in 1575. At the time of his marriage, about 1582, the family estates were settled upon him, his father reserving to himself a liferent interest in them. In March, 1587-8, he had, as we have seen, a Crown charter of the Barony of Arbuthnot, granted to him and his

wife, Mary Keith, and their heirs-male, failing whom the lands were to pass to the heirs already named (pp. 59-60).

He was served heir to his father 30th July, 1606, and was knighted about 1609. He had a charter of Fordoun in 1608, and of Cowlie and Brownside in 1613-14.

In 1616 these various separate estates were erected into one Barony, called the Barony of Arbuthnot, and he obtained a charter of them in that year in favour of his nephew, Robert Arbuthnot of Arrat, being himself childless.

In 1621 he sat in Parliament as member for Kincardineshire.

In 1629 he granted to his nephew a tack of all the lands of Arbuthnot, reserving a liferent for himself.

He was a favourite with James VI, and a man of high character and piety. The Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot says :

“ He was the fourt of that name which governed the family of Arbuthnott and he attained the honour of knighthood, his father bred him abroad in France : he ran (*and*) finished his Christian race with patience, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of his faith and laid hold on the Crown of righteousness which the righteous Judge of all the earth has prepared for them that love his appearance, to the full possession whereof he was removed from this vale of tears Septr.

“ King James the Sixth then reigning over the Island of Great Britain, when he came to grapple with the King of terrors he did it with an heroick and invincible fortitude, for being exhorted by a friend not to be dismayed at the sight of death, he replied ‘ I thank God ’ (said he) ‘ I never feared death, nor regrated it in my Godly friend,’ and with such encouraging and friendly speeches he calmly and sweetly breathed out his spirit into the hands of his merciful Creatour and dear Redeemer, having fortold the presise hour of his death.

“ I was certainly informed by some of his friends then present that a while before his expiring there came a little bird to the chamber window where he lay on his death bed and sung there with such a melodious and unheard of voice as ravished the ears of all in the room and struck them into a kind of admiration and consternation of spirit and continued in this delightful harmonie till he breathed his last and

immediately away it flew and was never seen or heard afterwards: what this meant I will not take it upon me to divine, only I may conjecture that it was a prognostication and prelude of his future joy immediately to follow."

He died September, 1631, and his nephew, who succeeded him, "gave his corps a very sumptuous and honourable funeral, which they well deserved"; and one of his friends, Sir George Keith, composed an epitaph on his death, which has been preserved by the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot and runs as follows:

Long since I vowed if I survived
Thy dying, to bewail thee.
Now thou art gone and I'm so grieved,
I fear my muses fail me.

He married in 1582 Mary, daughter of William, Lord Keith, eldest son of William, fourth Earl Marischal, but left no issue. His wife died 11th March, 1619, her will being dated at Inverbervie, 25th February that year. She desires to be buried in the "queier" of the kirk of Arbuthnot, and among various legacies she leaves to "the Ladies of Arbuthnot her successors" her jewellery and apparel, and, "for the favour she has to the noble house of Merschell, from which she is descended, and the love she bears to her dearest nevy and his lady, my Lord and my Lady Keith, she bequeathes to his eldest daughter, Lady Mary Keith, whom failing, her sister, a gown of black satin and certain other articles of clothing and chains of pearls, with 4000 merks to be paid to her at her marriage," etc. The will was given up by "Sir Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk, Knight," her spouse, and Sir Robert Arbuthnot, fiar of that Ilk, Knight, her executors.

Sir Robert Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot, was served heir to his uncle, 1st May, 1632, or, to quote the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot, "To him dying childless succeeded (as we hinted befor) Robert his nephew, by his brother James sometime Laird of Arrat, who also was honoured with the title of Knighthood, he was without disparagement every way both in bodie and mind one of the best accomplished gentlemen, not only that ever governed that family but in the whole Kingdom, of a stately, comly personage, and of a courteous affable behaviour (for he was well educated abroad in France) he

was most hospital [*sic*] both to friends and strangers, and manie times he noblie entertained the greatest Peers of the nation in his house; his own private affairs he dextrously managed with much prudence and was capable by reason of his singular qualifications of the greatest publick trust, and among the rest of his many rare natural endowments, he had a gift of expressing himself with such a torrent of unaffected eloquence, that he was admired by all that knew him, and always chosen by the rest of the Barons to be their mouth befor the highest Courts of the Kingdom in a word he put such a lustre upon his family by his splendid virtues and worthie actions that all about him courted his favour and friendship and he became to be as singlie esteemed as most of his rank and quality, and certainly if God had not removed him to a better life by untimely death in the midst of his days he had done great things for his family, for being much subject to gout and ston, the last of these diseases cut his days."

Sir Robert Arbuthnot married first Lady Margaret Keith, daughter of George, fifth Earl Marischal—contract being dated 23rd December, 1615—but she died shortly afterwards, without issue.

Sir Robert, who died 15th March, 1633, married secondly Margaret Fraser, daughter of Simon Lord Lovat—contract dated at Aberdeen, 29th April, 1617—and by her, who married secondly Sir John Haldane of Gleneagles, and later caused her eldest son a good deal of legal trouble (see *Scots Peerage*, vol. i, p. 302), had issue—

I. Robert, his heir, first Viscount Arbuthnott.¹

¹ Although the arrangement of this part of the pedigree as given in the *Scots Peerage* has been adopted here, the author must note that information sent her by Mr. Alfred Arbuthnot-Murray, late owner of Fiddes Castle, and extracted, as she understands, from the title-deeds of that estate, seems to suggest that Robert, first Viscount Arbuthnott, was son of Sir Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk by his first, and not his second, wife. This is at variance with the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot's account, but the author is assured by Mr. Arbuthnot-Murray that it is correct. If so, the legal controversy referred to above becomes more natural as taking place between the Viscount and his stepmother, rather than his own mother. Following on this, a suggestion is now put forward, with all diffidence. In 1884 Mr. Henry T. Wake, writing from Wingfield Park, Derby, sent to *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica* some information regarding an old Bible in his possession, said to have come from the Lowlands of Scotland. This Bible, which was dated 1566, and printed "at the cost and charges of Richard Carmarden,"

II. Andrew of Fiddes, which estate he purchased from his cousin Robert (p. 48). He married Helen Lindsay, daughter of Alexander Lindsay of Canterland, and widow of Melville of Baldovie; of him the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot says: "He was a very gallant, discreet, kind, honest gentleman, and died in the flower of his age of that disease his father died and in liklyhood had propagated to him." In 1642 Andrew Arbuthnot, "brother german to Robert Viscount of Arbuthnot," had a charter (signed at Aberdeen, 29th November, and at Inverugie, 2nd December) from John Udry of that Ilk, of lands in Aberdeenshire, namely, "Tortarstoun, with the mill thereof called the

and which was stated to be much perished with damp, contained the following entries:

" 19 Day of July 1619 Jane Arbuthnot was borne at tene hor in the morning.

" The third Day Juelij 1620 Robert Arbuthnot was borne at thre hor in the morning being Windy Monday.

" The 16 of September 1621 Andrew Arbuthnot was borne at foure hor in the morning.

" The penult Day of August 1624 Margaret Arbuthnot was borne at three houres in the morning God . . . grant the grace.

" The last Day of Januari 1626 Janet Arbuthnot was borne at twall houres of the day God grant the grace.

" The 4 of July 1628 Ally Arbuthnot was borne at vj houres on . . . at night.

" The 9 of November 1630 Jhone Arbuthnot was borne at 9 hours at night.

" Symon Arbuthnot my sone was borne on tewysday the 20 of Noue'ber 1632 at twa hours in the morning or therby.

" Robert Arbuthnot my sone was borne on the twelfth of December uleuen houres 1638 yeares.

" My sone Alex^r was borne on the last off March 1654 yeares about twallue off the Clocke att night.

" The 26th of feb^r 1659 My Daughter Anna Arbuthnot was borne."

The question that suggests itself here is this: can this be, at least in part, the family of Sir Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk by his second wife, Margaret Fraser? Names and dates seem roughly to correspond, with the exception that we must assume that Sir Robert had *two* sons named Robert (stepbrothers), certainly living at the same time. (This was not an unusual circumstance, especially where there was more than one wife, as we shall have occasion to notice elsewhere.) If there is anything in this idea, then the old Bible supplies us with dates of birth not obtainable elsewhere. The author knows of but one Simon Arbuthnot on the pedigree—him who was afterwards of Caterline, and was brother (or, as is now suggested, stepbrother) to the first Viscount Arbuthnott. Without access to the original, one can only venture to guess, but one might further suggest that the last three names are entered in a different hand and are the family of Sir Robert's son, the first Viscount. The names correspond exactly with his children—one only, Margaret, being omitted.

Scotismylne, and the hill called Ravenscraig with the pertinents, lying in the parish of Peterugie, which were wadset by the deceased Earl Marischal to the said John Udney for 20,000 merks." The charter was registered 24th January, 1643, and "Robert Arbuthnot at Inglismylne" gave sasine as bailie.¹ This was confirmed by the King at Edinburgh, 1st March, 1650.² In 1665 Andrew Arbuthnot "of Fiddes" had a charter of various lands in Kincardineshire, including Feteresso, Cowie, and others, besides property in Aberdeenshire, in the parishes of New Deer, Old Deer, Strathyne and Longside. In the latter he acquired "the toun and lands of Rora, with mill, etc., and the lands of Auverwhomrie, with mill, etc.; Mintlaw, Langmuir, Fortree and Auchlee." Other lands belonging to the Keiths passed to him at the same time, including the "lands and Barony of Altrie, . . . Peterhead, Invernettie, with mill," etc.³

Andrew Arbuthnot had issue by Helen Lindsay—

- (1) Robert, born 1651. Said to have "disappeared" in his father's lifetime.
- (2) John, infest in Fiddes, 1700. He married Helen Bruce, daughter of Major George Bruce, son of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, contract being dated 10th March, 1676.
- (3) Alexander, born 1653.
- (4) Andrew, born 1657.
- (1) Jean, born 1655.
- (2) Helen, born 1657, married first Robert Burnett of Cowtown (contract dated 7th June, 1682), and secondly John Sandilands.

¹ *Aberdeenshire Sasines*, vol. xii. Robert Arbuthnot "at Inglismylne" was afterwards of Scotsmill, and was grandfather of Dr. John Arbuthnot.

² *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, vol. ix. No. 2172.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xi. No. 797.



A Page of the Arbuthnott Missal, showing the Figure of St. Ternan,
Patron Saint of Arbuthnott Church.

III. Alexander, killed at the battle of Dunbar in 1650, "a most proper gentleman who was unfortunatelie killed at Dunbar fighting valiantly in defence of his King and countrie against the English nation."

IV. Simon, of Caterline, which estate he purchased from Robert Arbuthnot in 1669. He had issue at least three sons—

(1) John of Caterline, who married Magdalen Garden, daughter of John Garden of Lawton, and had issue: (1) John, who was a shipmaster in Montrose, and died before 30th July, 1737, leaving a natural daughter, Margaret. (2) Alexander, was at Fort William, Bengal, in 1737, and died before March, 1744. (3) James, died in January, 1752. (4) George. (1) Elizabeth, died unmarried. She seems to have been "of Balwhylo." She acquired the estate of Caterline and bequeathed it to her brother James, with remainder to various heirs, failing whom, it was to pass to the head of the family. Under this provision John, fifth Viscount Arbuthnott, succeeded to it in 1752.

(2) James, shipmaster in Leith, married Helen Arnot.

(3) Robert, merchant in Dundee. He left a son Andrew, who died *s.p.*

I. Jean, married first Alexander Burnett of Leys, with issue; secondly (1651) Patrick Gordon of Glenbucket, also with issue;^{*} and thirdly Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie.

II. Margaret, married before 25th June, 1640, Sir Alexander Carnegie of Pitarrow, fourth son of David, first Earl of Southesk, and had issue.

^{*} In 1670 Robert Lord Arbuthnot, Simon Arbuthnot, and others, were called as next-of-kin to Adam Gordon, "now of Glenbucket, lawful son of the deceased Patrick Gordon of Glenbucket, procreated between him and Dame Jean Arbuthnot his spouse."—*Sheriff Court Services of Heirs.*

III. Janet, married before 15th December, 1646, William Rait of Halgreen, and had issue. Her will was recorded 5th July, 1685.

Sir Robert Arbuthnot, who died in 1633, had also a natural son, Robert, mentioned in his will.

Robert, first Viscount Arbuthnott, succeeded his father in the estates in 1633, while still under age, and had as curators his uncle James of Dulladies, with Robert Arbuthnot of Findowrie and James Burnett of Craigmyle. On 17th November, 1641, as quite a young man, he was created Viscount Arbuthnott and Baron Bervie.¹

In 1642 Robert, Viscount of Arbuthnott, Sir John Carnegie of Craig, Sir Alexander Carnegie of Balnamoon, William Rait of Halgreen, and Robert Arbuthnot of Findowrie, with "such as may be in their company," received a Dispensation from the Privy Council to eat flesh in Lent for a year.²

In 1645 the Royalist troops under Montrose marched through Kincardineshire, and laid waste the Arbuthnott estates, Lord Arbuthnott being a supporter of the Covenanters. In his subsequent complaint to Parliament, presented in 1649, he states that he "hes bene maist maliciouslie opprest and almost ruined, for in the moneth of Merch, 1645, his Landis within the sheriffdome of Kincardine wes brunt and waisted be James Grahame and his adherentis, enemies to this kirk and kingdome. And his losses at that time did excede all those of his qualitie where he lived," etc. The complaint goes on to state that the damage amounts to "the soume of fourscoir thousand pundis or thereby, for his Landis wes not only destroyed and waisted by burneing the haill-houses and cornes thereupon, Bot his tennentis and servandis wes most cruellie murderit," etc. In claiming exemption from a proposed levy on account of these losses, Lord Arbuthnott claims that hitherto he has made no attempt to obtain redress for the injuries done him, "Altho he knowes that their is none benorth the tay that has suffered as he hes done, Bot has gottin some satisfacioune Less or More," etc.

¹ We find that *Inverbervie*, and not Bervie, has usually been adopted as the second title.

² *Arbuthnot Papers*, Advocates' Library.

After considering the circumstances, Parliament consented to exempt Robert Viscount of Arbuthnott from the "Levie bothe of horse and foote . . . and that in respect of his constant affectioun and of his former extraordinary sufferings."¹

Viscount Arbuthnott died 10th October, 1655. He had married, before 1639, Lady Marjorie Carnegie, daughter of David, first Earl of Southesk, and widow of William Halyburton of Pitcur. She died 22nd December, 1651. By her he had issue—

I. Robert, second Viscount Arbuthnott.

I. Margaret, married Sir John Forbes of Monymusk.²

Viscount Arbuthnott married secondly (30th June, 1653) his cousin, Katherine Fraser, daughter of Hugh, eighth Lord Lovat, and widow of Sir John Sinclair of Dunbeath. (She is said to have married secondly Andrew, third Lord Fraser.) By her he had issue—

II. Alexander of Knox, of whom presently.

II. Anna, married William Forbes, son and heir of Robert Forbes of Ludquharn (contract dated 7th February, 1682).

The Hon. Alexander Arbuthnot of Knox, the second son, was born in 1654. He entered Parliament, and was member for Kincardineshire from 1689 to 1702. He married first Margaret, daughter of Colonel Harry Barclay of Knox, contract being dated 22nd February, 1671. By her he appears to have had no issue. He married secondly Jean, daughter of Patrick Scott of Rossie. He died in 1705, leaving issue by his second wife—

I. Alexander of Knox, of whom presently,

II. Robert, a merchant in Edinburgh, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Mallock, an Edinburgh merchant, contract being dated 22nd February, 1712. He died in 1714, leaving issue by her (who married secondly Kenneth Gordon of

¹ *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. Part II, p. 324.

² From this marriage descended, remotely, Mary Urquhart, wife of Robert Arbuthnot, second of Haddo-Rattray. See the chart facing p. 294, where this descent is traced.

Cluny) an only son, Robert, who lived at Deptford, and married (22nd July, 1750) his cousin, Mary, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Arbuthnott, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, who died in 1753.

III. James, born in 1693, died young.

I. Jean, who married Samuel Straton, a physician of Montrose.

II. Catharine, married Charles Stirling of Kippendavie.

III. Margaret, married James Napier, postmaster of Montrose.

IV. Janet, died unmarried.

V. Elizabeth, died unmarried.

VI. Isabel.

The eldest son, Alexander Arbuthnott of Knox, was a merchant in Edinburgh. He married in 1703 Janet, daughter of John Rennald of Larnie, and died 7th October, 1764, having by her had issue—

I. Robert of Kirkbraehead, of whom presently.

II. Archibald, who was an Edinburgh merchant, and who died in 1771, having married Margaret Lee, and by her had issue—

(1) Evander.

(2) Archibald, a Turkey merchant, died in 1783.

(3) Romeo, a stockbroker in London, who married Christian Ramsay, and died in 1783, leaving issue: (1) James; (2) Thomas; (3) Harry; (1) Jean; (2) Anne; (3) Margaret, married Thomas Whittier; (4) Christian.

III. Patrick, born in 1710.

I. Jean, married William Galloway.

II. Margaret, born in 1706, died young.

Robert Arbuthnott of Kirkbraehead, near Edinburgh, eldest son of Alexander Arbuthnott of Knox, was born in 1708, and married Elizabeth, daughter of John Riddel of Grange. (She died 6th January, 1763.) He died at Kirkbraehead 1st February, 1773, having had issue—



Ancient Tomb in Arbuthnott Church.



Arms of Arbuthnott of that ilk.
From the Workman MS.



- I. Alexander, served heir to his father in May, 1773.
- II. John.
- III. Robert (Lieutenant-Colonel), in the 31st Foot, of whom below.
 - I. Helen, born in 1760, married (11th December, 1777) Hugh James Paterson Rollo of Bannockburn, and died 5th February, 1838, leaving issue.

Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Arbuthnott, 31st Foot, third son of Robert Arbuthnott of Kirkbraehead, married Cordelia Murray, and died 10th July, 1796, on board the *Raymond* from wounds received at St. Lucia, leaving issue—

- I. Alexander Dundas Young (Admiral Sir), of whom below.
- I. Josette, married first, 29th December, 1808, Captain Hughes, and secondly General Sir De Lacy Evans, G.C.B., M.P.

Admiral Sir Alexander Dundas Young Arbuthnott was born at Torton, Hants, in 1789, and entered the Navy in 1803. He served as midshipman in the *Mars* at Trafalgar in 1805, was present at the capture of *Le Rhin* in 1806, and that of four French frigates off Rochefort by Sir Samuel Hood's Squadron in 1806. Was with the expedition to Copenhagen in 1807, was at the capture of Antwerp and escorted the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia to England in 1814. Was Commander of the *Jasper* on a mission to St. Petersburg in 1823, when he received the Order of St. George of Russia. He served with the British Auxiliary Legion in Spain in 1835-7 as Colonel and Brigadier-General, including the relief of San Sebastian and the storming of Irun. For his services in Spain he was made Knight Commander of Charles III and received the Order of San Fernando. He served in Syria in 1840-2 with the Commissioners employed with the Turkish Army in driving the Egyptian forces under Ibrahim Pacha out of Syria. He received the Turkish Gold Medal and Order of Medjidieh. Was knighted in 1859. Naval Medal and Clasp. Was Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to George IV and Queen Victoria. Died at Shenton Hall, Leicester, 8th May, 1871.

He married in 1827 Catherine Mary, daughter of the Rev. Charles Eustace, heir-male of the Viscounts Baltinglass, and by her had issue—

Josette Eliza Jane, only child and heiress, married (15th April, 1850), Frederick Wollaston of Shenton Hall, Leicester, and died 12th January, 1909, leaving issue.

Robert, first Viscount Arbuthnott, died 10th October, 1655, and was succeeded by his eldest son—

Robert, second Viscount Arbuthnott, concerning whom comparatively little seems to be known. He was one of the witnesses present when the Rev. James Granger, in 1660, restored to the seventh Earl Marischal the Regalia of Scotland, which had been buried within the Church of Kinneff beneath the pulpit. He was an officer in the Militia, and held various posts under the Government, such as Overseer of Highways, Overseer of Levies of Seamen for Kincardineshire, etc., between 1666 and 1680.¹

Among the *Arbuthnot Papers* at the Advocates' Library is a Certificate, dated 5th December, 1681, which sets forth that Robert, Viscount of Arbuthnot, "took the Test in presence of the President of the Session and others at Edinburgh on 24th November last."

He married first Lady Elizabeth Keith, daughter of William, seventh Earl Marischal (contract dated 25th March, 1658), and by her (who died in 1664) had issue—

I. Robert, his heir, third Viscount Arbuthnott.

I. Margaret, married in 1677 Sir Thomas Burnett, third Baronet, of Leys, and died July, 1744, having had by him twenty-one children.

Viscount Arbuthnott married secondly Katherine Gordon,² daughter of Robert Gordon of Straloch (contract dated 30th July, 1667), and died 15th June, 1682, having by her (who

¹ *Registers of the Privy Council*, 3rd Series, vols. iii.—vi.

² In a letter addressed to "Arbuthnot of Findowrie" a short time before his second marriage, Lord Arbuthnot announces his betrothal to "Straloch's daughter." After noting that the tocher will be but small, he continues: "I am very confident the gentlewoman is of ane good dispositione and fears God (although a Gordon), and her freinds will be no burthen unto me, so that bothe myselfe and famely may be als hapie in this choyse as in ane higher match."—See *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. iv. p. 178. *Gordon Papers*.

married secondly Sir David Carnegie, second Baronet, of Pitarrow) had issue—

II. John of Fordoun, who bought that estate from his brother, the third Viscount. He died in 1737, and was buried at Arbuthnott, having had issue by his wife, Margaret Falconer, eldest daughter of Sir James Falconer of Phesdo—

- (1) James, a merchant in Edinburgh, died unmarried in 1727.
- (2) John of Fordoun, afterwards sixth Viscount Arbuthnott. Of him presently.
- (3) Thomas of Balglassie (or Arbuthnotshaugh, he having changed the name of this estate), a doctor in Montrose. He matriculated his arms in the Lyon Office in 1765. He married Margaret Forbes, daughter of Forbes of Thornton, and died in 1767, leaving issue: (1) John, born 1739; (2) Thomas, born 1741; (3) Alexander George; (1) Margaret, married William Ross, merchant in Montrose; (2) Jean, married Alexander Gordon of Glendaveny; (3) Elizabeth, married William Forbes, merchant in Aberdeen.
- (1) Elizabeth, died 16th April, 1775, buried in St. Nicholas' Churchyard, Aberdeen.
- (2) Margaret, died 25th December, 1779, buried at St. Nicholas'.
- (3) Jean, died 19th July, 1781, buried at St. Nicholas'.
- (4) Anne, died at Aberdeen, 15th February, 1777.
- (5) Mary, married John Douglas of Tilwhilly, and died 25th May, 1783, leaving issue.
- (6) Catherine, married James Moir of Invernettie and died 28th January, 1775, *s.p.*

III. Alexander, married Jean, eldest daughter of Sir James Maitland of Pitrichie, heiress to that estate on her brother's death in 1704. He assumed the

name and arms of Maitland in place of those of Arbuthnott. By his wife he left issue—

- (1) Charles Maitland, Sheriff of the County of Edinburgh in 1747, M.P. for Aberdeen Burghs in 1748; died unmarried, 1751.
- (1) Katherine Maitland, died unmarried.
- (2) Mary Anne Maitland, died unmarried.
- (3) Margaret Maitland, died unmarried.

IV. Thomas, a merchant in Edinburgh, died November, 1745, having had issue by his wife, Elizabeth Falconer, second daughter of Sir James Falconer of Phesdo—

- (1) James, of Finnart, died *s.p.* 1747.
- (2) Robert (Captain) of Lord John Murray's Highland Regiment, succeeded his brother in the estate of Finnart, and died before 4th February, 1762.
- (1) Anne, died unmarried.
- (2) Elizabeth, died unmarried.
- (3) Mary, married (22nd July, 1750) her cousin, Robert Arbuthnot, shipwright in Deptford, and died 25th March, 1754.

I. Elizabeth, born 1669, married Andrew Wood of Balbegno.

II. Catherine, married first Robert Gordon of Cluny, and had issue, and secondly David Riccart, by whom she had issue.

III. Anne, married John Hay of Westhall.

IV. Helen, married first John Macfarlane of Arrocher, and had issue, and secondly John Spottiswood of that Ilk, also with issue.

V. Jean, died unmarried.

Robert, third Viscount Arbuthnott, born in 1661, was served heir to his father, 12th September, 1682. He married (3rd May, 1683) Lady Anne Sutherland Gordon, daughter of George, fourteenth Earl of Sutherland. (She died in June, 1695.) Of their issue presently.

In 1687 Viscount Arbuthnott was called as one of the next-of-kin to Alexander Arbuthnot, last Laird of Cairngall, a somewhat curious circumstance, concerning which some comments will be found on p. 134. He was a warm supporter of William of Orange, and died in August, 1694.

In Robert Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland*,^{*} it is stated that "Provision was made by the Privy Council in March, 1695, for the widowed Viscountess of Arbuthnot (Anne, daughter of the fourteenth Earl of Sutherland), who had been left with seven children all under age, and whose husband's testament had been 'reduced.' In her petition the Viscountess represented that the estate was twenty-four thousand merks per annum (£1,333 sterling). 'My Lord, being now eight years of age, has a governor and a servant; her two eldest daughters, the one being eleven, and the other ten years of age, and capable of all manner of schooling, they must have at least one servant, as for the youngest son and three youngest daughters, they are yet within the years of seven, so each of them must have a woman to wait upon them.' Lady Arbuthnot was provided with a jointure of twenty-five chalders of victual, and as her jointure-house was ruinous, she desired leave to occupy the family mansion of Arbuthnot House, which her son was not himself of an age to possess.

"The Lords, having enquired into and considered the relative circumstances, ordained that £2,000 Scots (£166 13s. 4d.) should be paid to Lady Arbuthnot out of the estate, for the maintenance of her children, including the young Lord.

"The Lady soon after dying, the Earl her father came in her place as keeper of the children at the same allowance."

By Lady Anne Gordon, Viscount Arbuthnott, who died in 1694, had issue—

- I. Robert, fourth Viscount Arbuthnott.
- II. George, died in infancy.
- III. William, died in infancy.
- IV. John, fifth Viscount Arbuthnott.
- I. Jean, married Captain Crawford of Camlurg, and had issue.

- II. Anne, married (1717) Robert Burnett, second son of Robert Burnett of Glenbervie, known as Tutor of Glenbervie.
- III. Isobel, died in 1692.
- IV. Mary.
- V. Margaret, died 1747.
- VI. Helen, died 1741.
- VII. Janet, died 1706.

Robert, fourth Viscount Arbuthnott, born in 1686, was served heir to his father, 1st November, 1695. He never married, and dying in 1710 was buried at Bath Abbey. He was succeeded by his brother—

John, fifth Viscount Arbuthnott. He married Jean, second daughter of William Morrison of Prestongrange, and died *s.p.*, 8th May, 1756. He was succeeded by his cousin,

John, sixth Viscount Arbuthnott, eldest surviving son of the Hon. John Arbuthnott of Fordoun (p. 73), to which estate he had succeeded in 1738. He married first Marjorie, daughter and co-heiress of Robert Douglas of Bridgeford (marriage contract being dated 16th April, 1740), and secondly, in August, 1749, Jean, third daughter of Alexander Arbuthnot of Findowrie (p. 55).

Viscount Arbuthnott died at Arbuthnott House 20th April, 1791, having by his second wife had issue—

- I. Robert, Master of Arbuthnott, who died *v.p.* and *s.p.* before 1st August, 1785.
- II. John, seventh Viscount Arbuthnott.
- III. Hugh, drowned while crossing the Southesk, a little above Brechin, 2nd October, 1778. John Moir says of him that he “perished in the Southesk . . . coming from Forfar in a chaise, which was overturned in the river at the ford of Auldbar, by the carelessness of the driver, who was intoxicated. Mr. Arbuthnott got safe out, but venturing in to attempt the rescue of the horses, was carried beyond his depth and drowned.”
- I. Charlotte.
- II. Margaret, married Sir Alexander Dunbar of Northfield, Bart., and had issue.

John, seventh Viscount Arbuthnott, born 1754. He married Isabella, second daughter of William Barclay Grahame of Morphie and Balmakewan, and died at Edinburgh, 27th February, 1800, leaving issue by her (who died 4th March, 1818)—

- I. John, eighth Viscount Arbuthnott.
- II. Hugh (Sir), K.C.B., born 1780, entered the Army in 1796. He was M.P. for Kincardineshire from 1826 to 1865, and died unmarried, 11th June, 1868.
- III. Robert, died unmarried in 1801.
- IV. Francis William, died unmarried in 1809.
- V. Duncan, died unmarried in 1818.
- VI. William (General), R.A., died unmarried in 1876.
- VII. James, (Captain) in the Navy, died at Madeira in 1817, as a result of wounds received while in command of H.M.S. *Avon*.
- VIII. Mariot, died unmarried.
- IX. Alexander, died unmarried in 1870.
- I. Jane, died unmarried in 1841.
- II. Catherine, married (1805) the Rev. David Lyell, minister of the parish of Careston, and had issue. She died in 1853.

John, eighth Viscount Arbuthnott, born 16th January, 1778. He was a representative Peer of Scotland and Lord Lieutenant of Kincardineshire. He married (at Cortachy Castle, Forfarshire, 25th June, 1805) Margaret, eldest daughter of the Hon. Walter Ogilvy of Clova, second son of John, fourth Earl of Airlie. He died in January, 1860, having had issue—

- I. John, ninth Viscount Arbuthnott.
- II. Walter, (Captain) in the Army, born 21st November, 1808. He married (16th May, 1835) Anna Maria, daughter of Brook Taylor Ottley of Delaford, Co. Dublin, and died 5th January, 1891, having by her had issue—

(1) John Robert, born 28th August, 1838
died unmarried, 24th March, 1872.

(2) Walter Charles Warner, thirteenth and present Viscount Arbuthnott, of whom presently.

(1) Margaret Isabella Maria, died 1845.

(2) Theresa Alice Jean, died in 1851.

(3) Blanche, died in 1851.

(4) Kathleen Georgiana, born 1849, married (1877) Lieut.-Colonel Arthur John Rait, C.B., of Anniston, and had issue.

III. Hugh (Lieut.-Colonel), 3rd Madras Light Cavalry, born 13th August, 1812, died in 1866. He married (1854) Susanna, daughter of John Campbell, and had issue—

(1) John Campbell, born 1858, C.I.E. married (1887) Jeannie Sinclair, daughter of Robert Hamilton, and has issue: (1) Hugh Hamilton, born 1894; (2) Robert Keith, born 1897; (1) Jeannie, born 1888; (2) Margaret Ogilvy, born 1892; (3) Susannah Mary, born 1901.

(2) Hugh Corsar, C.E., born 1860, died 1915, having married (1886) Marianne, daughter of Archibald Gibson, and had issue: (1) John, born 1894; (2) Hugh, born 1896; (3) Archibald, born 1898; (4) Robert, born 1900; (1) Jean, born 1887.

IV. David, C.S.I., born 13th April, 1820; entered the Madras Civil Service, and died in 1901. He married (1847) Eliza, daughter of Thomas Forbes Reynolds, M.D., and has issue—

(1) John Pelly, born 1851, died unmarried, 1878.

(2) Lindsay George, born 1853, District Inspector of Police in Madras; married (1907) Gertrude Forbes, daughter of Clifford E. F. Nash, barrister-at-law, of Cheltenham.

(3) David, Lieut. 67th Foot, born 1856, died unmarried, 1878.

- (4) Donald Stewart, C.E., born 1860, married (1892) Anne Elizabeth, daughter of James Brand of Glasgow, and died 29th September, 1918, having had issue: (1) David, born 1892; (2) James Gordon, born 1894; (3) John Sinclair, born 1898; (4) Donald Charles, born 1902; (5) Hugh Forbes, born 1906; (1) Edith Gertrude, born 1895; (2) Margaret, born 1896; (3) Anne; (4) Eliza Mary; (5) Mary Frances Clementina.

(1) Margaret Frances, born 1850, died 11th January, 1917.

(2) Louisa Curzon, born 1855, died at Paignton, 11th January, 1919.

(3) Eliza Clementina Mary, born 1858.

V. William, E.I.C.S., born 18th October, 1821, married (1865) Barbara Elrington, daughter of Lieut.-General Sir Neil Douglas, K.C.B., and widow of Neil Ferguson Blair of Balthayock, and died *s.p.* 13th December, 1902.

VI. Charles James Donald (Major), Bengal Light Infantry, born 21st March, 1823, married (1852) Caroline, widow of E. Paul, E.I.C.S., and died *s.p.* 26th January, 1903.

I. Jean Ogilvy, born 9th August, 1807, married (1830) Commander James Cheape, and died 22nd October, 1900.

II. Margaret, born 6th January, 1810, married (1837) W. J. Lumsden of Balmedie, and died *s.p.* 4th March, 1845.

III. Isabella Mary, born 5th July, 1811, died unmarried, 1828.

IV. Anne Charlotte, born 17th November, 1813, married (1847) Alexander Cheape of Strathtyrum, and had issue.

V. Helen, born 10th April, 1815, married (1839) Frederick Lewis Scrymgeour Wedderburn of Wedderburn, Forfar, and of Birkhill, Fife, and died in 1840, leaving issue.

- VI. Charlotte Louisa, born 19th April, 1817, died in 1831, unmarried.
- VII. Clementina Maria, born 17th August, 1818, married (1854) Colonel William Rose Campbell of Ballochyle, Argyllshire, and died in 1857 *s.p.*

John, ninth Viscount Arbuthnott, born at Airlie House, 4th June, 1806, was for a time in the Army. He married (5th June, 1837) his cousin, Lady Jean Graham Drummond Ogilvy, eldest daughter of David, sixth Earl of Airlie, and died 26th May, 1891, having by her (who died 4th March, 1902) had issue—

- I. John, tenth Viscount Arbuthnott.
- II. David, eleventh Viscount Arbuthnott.
- III. Hugh, late Lieut. 81st Foot, born 10th September, 1847, died unmarried, 17th July, 1906.
- IV. William, twelfth Viscount Arbuthnott.
 - I. Clementina, born 1838, married (21st June, 1864) Alexander Stuart of Inchbreck and Laithers, and has issue.
 - II. Margaret, born 1854.

John, tenth Viscount Arbuthnott, was born 20th July, 1843. He was for a time in the Army, and married (20th April, 1871) Anna Harriet, only child of Edmund Allen. (She died 23rd April, 1892.) Lord Arbuthnott died 30th November, 1895, without issue, and was succeeded by his brother—

David, eleventh Viscount Arbuthnott, born 29th January, 1845. He died 24th May, 1914, unmarried, and was succeeded by his brother—

William, twelfth Viscount Arbuthnott, born 24th October, 1849, died 8th November, 1917, unmarried, and was succeeded by his cousin—

Walter Charles Warner (Lieut.-Colonel, R.A.), thirteenth and present Viscount Arbuthnott, born 22nd October, 1847; married (15th January, 1878) Emma Marion Hall,¹ daughter

¹ During the Great War, 1914-18, Lady Arbuthnott has worked for the British Red Cross in Switzerland, has interested herself in the French and Belgian refugees, and in providing comforts for prisoners of war in Germany.

of the Rev. John Hall Parlby of Manaden, Devonshire, and has had issue—

- I. Walter St. John Mayne, born 30th September, 1880, died November the same year.
- II. John Ogilvy, Master of Arbuthnott, born 15th September, 1882; served in the European War; enlisted in the Calgary Light Horse, Canadian Army, February, 1917; commissioned Lieutenant Welsh Guards, September, 1918. He married (4th June, 1914) Dorothy, youngest daughter of Admiral Charles Lister Oxley, of the Hall, Ripon, Yorkshire.
- III. Hugh Robin Claud (Captain), 5th Battalion Black Watch; born 12th September, 1884; served in the European War (1914 Medal); was seriously wounded at Neuve-Chapelle, France, 18th March, 1915. He married (4th September, 1915) Katherine Alice Tindall, daughter of Tindall Lucas of Foxholes, Hitchin.
 - I. Georgiana Muriel, born 31st July, 1881.
 - II. Violet Anna, born 8th September, 1883, died 1st January, 1884.
 - III. Nora Gertrude, born 1885.

PART II

THE ARBUTHNOTS OF ABERDEENSHIRE,
FIRST BRANCH :

THE DESCENDANTS OF JAMES ARBUTHNOT OF
LENTUSCHE, ENDING IN THE LAIRDS OF CAIRNGALL.



THE ARBUTHNOTS OF ABERDEENSHIRE, FIRST BRANCH :

THE DESCENDANTS OF JAMES ARBUTHNOT OF LENTUSCHE,
ENDING IN THE LAIRDS OF CAIRNGALL.

WE shall now endeavour to trace the descendants of Hugh Arbuthnot, second son of Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk and Giles Ogilvy (p. 37), whom we regard as the direct ancestor of the Aberdeenshire branch of the Arbuthnot family. He married Janet Balmakewan, daughter of George Balmakewan of that Ilk, and died before the 28th September, 1477, in which year his widow "granted a procutory to David Ogilvy of that Ilk and Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie, to resign her lands of Easter Brichty into the hands of David, Earl of Crawford."¹

By her he had issue—

- I. John, of Easter Brichty, of whom below.
- II. David, of whom presently.
- III. Hugh, who married a daughter of Hay of Sandford, and left no male issue.
- IV. William, a notary.
- V. Alexander, "a clerk in holy orders, who attained to considerable dignity in the Church."²

The eldest son, John Arbuthnot of Easter Brichty, obtained a remission in 1508 for "art and part in the murder of Robert Scrymgeour and John Jacob."³ In 1511 he had a charter of the lands of Easter Brichty from Archibald, Earl of Angus.⁴ In 1526 William Hamiltoun of Mcnaristoun got "the eschete gudis of Johne Arbuthnot of Brichtin."⁵ In 1528 he had a charter of the lands of Easter Brichty in Forfarshire and the

¹ *Scots Peerage*, vol. i. p. 280.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 281.

³ *Great Seal*, vol. i. No. 1644.

⁴ *Scots Peerage*, vol. i. p. 280.

⁵ *Privy Seal*, vol. i. No. 3660.

third part of Monyflett. In January the following year he received another third of the lands of Monyflett, resigned by John Erskine of Dun.

He married Janet Mason, "a woman of Dundee," by whom he had no male issue, and on his death his lands were divided between his two daughters—

- I. Katherine, married to Gorthie of that Ilk, and
- II. Margaret, married first to Alexander Balbirnie of Inverichte, and secondly to John Ogilvy. In 1566 the elder sister's inheritance was claimed by "Katherine Gorthy, niece and heir of the deceased Katherine Arbothnot, who was one of the two daughters of John Arbothnot of Easter Brichty," etc. Katherine Gorthie's husband, George Lundie, was associated with her in this claim.¹

The second son of Hugh Arbuthnot and Janet Balmakewan, David Arbuthnot, married Christian Rhind of Carse, and had by her five sons and "several daughters."²

The five sons were—

- I. John Arbuthnot of Portertown in Kincardineshire and of Legasland in Angus.
- II. James of Little Fiddes, living 1558, 1569 and 1576, being mentioned in the latter year in his brother John's will, recorded 4th February.
- III. David.
- IV. Alexander.
- V. Hugh.

John Arbuthnot in Portertown and of Legasland, eldest son of David Arbuthnot and Christian Rhind, appears as witness to various deeds in 1553, 1563, 1586, etc.,³ and in 1559 he is mentioned in a process of law between William, fourth Earl Marischal and Andrew, Master of Erroll, John Arbuthnot appearing in the inquest on the side of the Earl Marischal.⁴

¹ *Register of Acts and Decrees*, vol. xxxvi.

² *Scots Peerage*, vol. i. p. 280.

³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, vol. iv.

⁴ *Collections for the History of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. iii. p. 129.

He married Christian Fraser, of the family of Fraser of Durris, and died in January, 1573-4, having had by her five sons, as follows :—

- I. James, believed to be identical with James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, Portertown, Keir, etc., of whom presently. We may notice that this James is not mentioned in his father's will, but this is not unusual, as the eldest son, being frequently provided for during his father's lifetime, was very often ignored in the will. John Arbuthnot in Portertown certainly had an eldest son James, and, in this case, by the time of his father's death in 1573, James seems to have been well provided for. We find mention of "James Arbuthnot, eldest son of John Arbuthnot in Portertown," as being present with his mother, Christian Fraser, at the taking of an inventory of the goods of Christian Keith, spouse of Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk, "at the place of Arbuthnot on 12th July, 1553."
- II. Robert, believed to be identical with Robert Arbuthnot, "brother-german" of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, of whom mention is found in 1566-7, 1573, etc., and of whom we shall treat in detail later. This Robert is also believed to be the "Robert Arbuthnot of Rora," from whom the Aberdeenshire Arbuthnots derive their descent. Robert, brother of Lentusche, was certainly one of three brothers who migrated from the Mearns to Aberdeenshire in the sixteenth century, the other two being James himself and David of Long Seat, Belhelvie. Moir certainly states that John Arbuthnot of Cairngall was the eldest of the three original settlers, but the confusion of two generations is not an unnatural mistake in a narrative based on family traditions, however carefully preserved. We shall prove that John Arbuthnot of Cairngall was the eldest son of James of Lentusche

* *Arbuthnot Papers* in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

—there is no doubt whatever on this point—and that the latter was settled in Aberdeenshire long before the earliest mention of his son John in 1584 (when, with his father, he was in trouble in connection with the Angus rebellion). At that date John was described as “apparent of Lentusche,” not becoming Laird of Cairngall until 1591.

III. John, believed to be identical with John Arbuthnot in Ravenshaw, parish of Garvock, Kincardineshire, who married Isobel Murray, sister of James Murray of Polmais, and had issue—

- (1) James ;
- (2) John ;
- (3) William ;
- (4) Robert (believed to be identical with Robert, afterwards Provost of Montrose, who recorded his arms at the Lyon Office in 1685, claiming descent from the line of Portertown¹) ;
- (5) George ; and
- (1) Grizel.

To the latter he left 900 merks, “for helping of her to an honest marriage.”^{*} He died in April, 1595. Among debts due to him at the time of his death are mentioned those of “David Arbuthnot in Langset, his brother,” Robert Arbuthnot in Fiddes and Mr. Andrew Arbuthnot, his son, “James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, as principal, and John Arbuthnot in Pottertoun, his son, as cautioner,” etc. He wills that his wife, Isobel Murray, who is sole executrix, “follow the advice of his chief, Andro Arbuthnot of that Ilk, James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, Mr. Andro Arbuthnot, appearand of Lytill Fuddes,” etc.

^{*} The arms were : “Azure, a crescent between three stars argent, all within a bordure indented and quartered of the second and first. Crest, a dove within an adder, disposed orleways. Motto : *Innocue ac provide*.”—Burke’s Armoury, *Arbuthnot of Montrose*.

^{*} *Edinburgh Commisariot*. Will of John Arbuthnot “in Revinschaw,” confirmed 27th July, 1597.

IV. Alexander, probably identical with Alexander Arbuthnot, joint printer with Thomas Bassendyne of the Bassendyne Bible in 1579. The printer was certainly closely connected with the Forfarshire family, James Arbuthnot of Lentusche and other Forfarshire gentlemen acting as his sureties in the transactions preceding the publication of the first Bible printed in Scotland in the vernacular. Alexander the printer, like others of his family, had connections with Aberdeen. In 1569 Alexander Arbuthnot, burgess of Edinburgh, gave sasine of some land in Aberdeen to Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk and Helen Clephane.¹ In 1575 he acquired land in the "Gallowgate" there, resigned by Gilbert Anderson.² In the same year he and his wife, Agnes Pennycuik, got sasine of land in the "Thiefraw," Aberdeen, resigned by Alexander Anderson.³ He was appointed King's printer in August, 1579. He died intestate 1st September, 1585, leaving two printing presses with fittings and household goods valued at £106 13s. 4d., with a debt owing to him of £8 17s. He was survived by his widow, Agnes Pennycuik, and five children—Thomas, George, John, Alison, and Agnes.

V. David, believed to be identical with David Arbuthnot of Long Seat, whom we find witnessing deeds in 1567-8 and 1573. In 1584, his lands of Long Seat were seized by Thomas Ker, burgess of Aberdeen, who was put to the horn at the instance of David Arbuthnot in March that year. David himself was at the horn in May of the same year, for his part in the Angus rebellion, for which he received a remission the following September.⁴

¹ *Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines.*

² *Aberdeen Burgh Court Deeds.*

³ *Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines.* In 1595 William Arbuthnot, "burgess of Aberdeen, lawful son of James Arbuthnot of Ledintushe," gave sasine of "a shop in the Thiefraw" to John Sanders.

⁴ *Aberdeenshire Hornings.*

In January, 1585-6, Thomas Ker was still at the horn for not delivering up the lands of Overtoun and Long Seat, in the Barony of Belhelvie, to David Arbuthnot and his nephew, John Arbuthnot (afterwards of Cairngall). In January, 1603, David Arbuthnot in Long Seat brings an action against certain persons "in Pottertoun."¹ He was still living in 1607, when we find him witnessing a deed.²

We have now to deal with the eldest son, James Arbuthnot, and his long and varied career, and must be pardoned for dwelling upon him at very considerable length, as he represents a most important link between the Kincardineshire and Aberdeenshire families, and we shall hope to establish beyond a doubt the close relationship existing between the Arbuthnots of Cairngall and the main Kincardineshire stem, and, consequently, between the Aberdeenshire branch in general and the line of which the present Viscount Arbuthnott is the head.

We shall call the reader's attention to the following points:

First, that John Arbuthnot of Legasland and in Portertown undoubtedly had an eldest son named James.

Secondly, we shall proceed to show that James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, whose parentage is nowhere distinctly stated, was on several occasions mentioned as "of Portertown," and that his eldest son John (afterwards of Cairngall) appears in more than one document before 1591 as "of Legasland."

As further proof of the near relationship between the two branches, we shall have occasion to cite an act of curatory appointed for the last Laird of Cairngall, Alexander Arbuthnot, in 1687, in which Robert, third Viscount Arbuthnott, is called as one of the *next-of-kin*.

"About the year 1560," writes John Moir in his MS. account of the family, "three Brothers of the family of Arbuthnot arrived in Buchan, a considerable part of which was then under the paternal sway of the revered family of

¹ *Aberdeen Sheriff Court Books.*

² *Registers of the Privy Council*, vol. iv. p. 34.

Marischal. The eldest of these brothers, by name John, purchased the lands or estate of Cairngall, in the parish of Longside, which his descendants possessed for nearly 200 years," etc. Although we shall show that John Moir was mistaken as to the identity of the three brothers who first settled in Buchan, and that John of Cairngall belonged to the *second* generation settled there, yet his work is so entirely indispensable to our studies, and our obligations to his careful and laborious researches are so manifest, and we shall so often have occasion to rely for our facts on his *History*—the original manuscript of which the present writer was privileged to consult—that it seems desirable to pause here and examine Moir's credentials before going further. In his preface, writing of himself, he says: "The Compiler of the following brief sketches being at Peterhead on a visit to his father in the year 1809 and anxious to preserve a memorial of a race of men humble and unassuming indeed, but eminently distinguished by every peaceful and mild virtue that can adorn humanity, wrote down, under his father's eye, the principal facts contained in the following pages, and afterwards filled up the outline at his leisure. His informant was then in his 78th year, but possessing an uncommon degree of bodily and mental vigour. His memory had always been remarkably retentive, and stored with anecdotes of almost every respectable family in Aberdeenshire. But, not trusting entirely to the memory of one man, these sketches were also submitted to the inspection of several old persons of the name of Arbuthnot then living in Peterhead, and received the sanction of their approbation. They may, therefore, be said to possess as great a degree of authenticity as uniform tradition can confer.

"It may not, however, be improper to state here the means of information possessed by the compiler's father to enable him to communicate, with so much certainty, facts that took place nearly 200 years before his own time.

"Mr. John Moir, senior, was born about the year 1730, when genealogy was a very prevailing study amongst many of the inhabitants of Aberdeenshire, as well as amongst the Highlanders; and he had an opportunity of conversing several years with his grand-aunt, Janet Arbuthnot (p. 152), a most intelligent and well-informed woman, the cousin-

german of Dr. Arbuthnot, and grand-daughter of Robert Arbuthnot and Beatrix Gordon. From her grandfather she received many particulars relative to the three Brothers who first emigrated from the Mearns to Buchan, her grandfather being grandson to Robert, the second of these three Brothers.

"This was not the only *causa scientiæ* possessed by our informant. He had married Mary Arbuthnot, a woman of no common mind, and to whom researches of this kind were a favourite study.

"She was daughter of Mr. James Arbuthnot of Westa Rora (p. 252), one of the most amiable and accomplished men of his time. He was only the fourth in descent from Alexander, the youngest of the above three Brothers, and he could thus, by a very simple process, reach to their time by the intervention of only two competent witnesses," etc.

It will be seen, then, that our chain of witnesses starts with Mary Arbuthnot, is fortified by her distant cousin, Janet (whose information came from Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill himself), and has been preserved for us by the devotion and industry of John Moir, junior, himself maternally descended from the Arbuthnot family.

Mary and Janet Arbuthnot, then, may be said to have laid the foundations of this history, so far as it is based on John Moir's account, and the present writer has merely done her best to bring together all the supplementary facts it has been possible to collect, either from private papers or from public archives, and sincerely hopes that the result may be of interest to the limited public who care for such things, as well as to those members of the Arbuthnot family, to whom it should in some degree appeal as concerning their own ancestors of long ago.

We must return to James Arbuthnot, eldest son of John Arbuthnot of Legasland and Portertown, and afterwards of Lentusche.

We have referred to what is the first notice of him yet found, namely, the mention of him in connection with the inventory of the goods of Christian Keith, taken at "the place of Arbuthnot" in the presence of James and others on 12th July, 1553. He was present with his mother, and was probably quite a young man or a boy at this time.

To the laborious researches undertaken for me in Edinburgh by Mr. Henry Paton we owe the practical certainty that a certain "James Arbuthnot of Elpitie," who was also "of Newbigging" (Forfarshire), and is mentioned in several contemporary documents, was identical with James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, who seems to have owned or occupied so many different lands that one is quite bewildered by his truly kaleidoscopic career. Elpitie—or Alpity, as it is now called—was a holding on the Arbuthnot estate, and is doubtless not far from Portertown, which was certainly occupied by James, who would appear to have feued the two estates from the head of the family. Mr. Paton is definitely of opinion that the two James' are identical, and I shall now sift the evidence for this conclusion in detail and trace out, as far as is possible, the life-history of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche.

We find "James Arbuthnot of Elpitie" mentioned in the year 1564, when a charter of Patrick, Bishop of Murray, is confirmed to him of the lands of "Easter Innergowrie *alias* Newbigging." These lands are granted to him and "Christine Culles, his wife, their heirs and assignees," etc.¹ The following year we find a Precept for Confirmation of the same charter to James and his wife "Christian Cullace."² In July, 1565, James Arbuthnot, believed to be the same person, is mentioned as being Collector of Cess for Angus and Mearns, and is said to be "son of John Arbuthnot of *Leggistide*." No such place as Leggistide being known either in Angus or elsewhere, it is believed by Mr. Paton and other competent authorities that *Legasland* in Angus must be intended, and a reference to the *Scots Peerage* will show that the writer of the Arbuthnott article has thus understood it.³

On 2nd November, 1566, James Arbuthnot "of Newbigging" was admitted burgess of Aberdeen, and after this date is frequently mentioned simply as "James Arbuthnot, burgess of Aberdeen."

On 30th. November, the same year, "James Arbuthnot

¹ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, vol. xi. p. 319.

² *Privy Seal*, vol. 33.

³ *Scots Peerage*, Corrigenda, vol. ix. p. 15.

of Newbigging, burgess of Aberdeen," got sasine of some salmon fishing on the Don.¹

— On 3rd February, 1566-7, "James Arbuthnot, burgess of Aberdeen, and Christian Collace his spouse" got sasine of certain inner land on the south side of the close of a tenement in the Castlegate, resigned in their favour by Mr. Thomas Menzies of Dorne. On this occasion James's brother Robert acted as "procurator for the said Christian Collace."²

In 1568 "James Arbuthnot, merchant of Aberdeen," rented three quarters of the town and lands of Logydurno (now called Chapel of Garioch) from William Leslie of Balquhaine.³ In connection with this it should be noted that James Arbuthnot of Lentusche was certainly, at some time in his career, the husband of Isobel Leslie, daughter to the above Laird of Balquhaine. She was probably his second wife.⁴

On 6th March, 1567-8, Patrick Leslie, burgess of Aberdeen, resigned his half net's fishing "in the furds on the Water of Dee" to "James Arbuthnot of Newbigging," a witness being "David Arbuthnot" (doubtless James's brother, David of Long Seat, Belhelvie). The same day Patrick Leslie also resigned his rights in "the other half net's fishing" to William Arbuthnot, "second lawful son of the said James Arbuthnot of Newbigging, burgess of Aberdeen." In this case James acted as procurator and David Arbuthnot was witness. Infertment took place on 10th March, when David Arbuthnot, "father's brother to the said William," acted as procurator.⁵

On 18th April, 1569, William Arbuthnot, "second son of James Arbuthnot of Elpitie," was admitted burgess of Aberdeen.⁶ We must take it, therefore, that James's sons had now reached manhood. We are not told the eldest son's

¹ *Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Historical Records of the Family of Leslie*, by Colonel Leslie of Balquhain, 1869, vol. iii. p. 46.

⁴ It has been found impossible to establish at what date James Arbuthnot married Isobel Leslie. Her sister, Jean, was not married until 1588, and Isobel, according to Colonel Leslie, was the youngest daughter of William Leslie. On the other hand, Isobel was certainly dead before 1587, in which year there is mention of James's third wife, Grizel Leslie, who survived him.

⁵ *Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines.*

⁶ *Aberdeen Burgess Roll, Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. i.

name at this point, but we presume it to have been John, afterwards of Cairngall.

In May, 1569, Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk and Helen Clephane, his spouse, and James Arbuthnot, their lawful son, got sasine of part of the lands of Boighill and its mill, disposed to them by William Menzies, burgess of Aberdeen. "James Arbuthnot, burgess of Aberdeen," acted as attorney to Robert, who would be his third cousin. "Alexander Arbuthnot, burgess of Edinburgh" (doubtless the printer of the Bassendyne Bible), was directed to give sasine.¹

We now come to the period when James Arbuthnot is found occupying the lands of Lentusche, in the parish of Rayne, Aberdeenshire, and it will be convenient here to trace the succession to that estate and James's connection with it during the remainder of his life, returning later to take up the narration of other episodes in his eventful career.

In 1559-60 Lentusche had been granted to John Leslie of Balquhaine by William, Bishop of Aberdeen. In 1564-5 the sunny third of the lands was divided between three Tullydeff sisters, Janet, Marjorie, and Christian, and their respective husbands, they being the daughters of Andrew Tullydeff of that Ilk. Lentusche had many years earlier been in possession of this family, for among those slain at the Battle of Harlow in 1411 was one William Tullydeff, Laird of Lentusche.

Probably a little later than this, Lentusche passed into the possession of a certain George Leslie, a natural son of George Leslie, first Laird of Aikenway. How long he held it is not known, but it passed from him to James Arbuthnot, who, some years later, is described as "assignee of George Leslie of Lentusche."²

In 1573 we come on the first mention of James Arbuthnot as "of Lentusche," in a Premonition dated 29th September that year, in presence of "Robert Arbuthnot, father's brother and tutor to Thomas Arbuthnot, lawful son of *James Arbuthnot of Lentusche*, made by the said James Arbuthnot's procurator to the said Robert Arbuthnot as tutor foresaid to compare and see consignation made of an angel noble for redemption

¹ *Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines.*

² *Register of Acts and Decrees*, vol. 116.

from the said Thomas of a croft on the west side of the Crofts of Aberdeen, lying at the Craibstone, disposed by the said James Arbuthnot to the said Thomas.”¹

James Arbuthnot, then, was certainly established at Lentusche some time between the years 1564-5 and 1573, and in 1585 he held “the sunny third part of the town and lands of Ledintusche in the parish of Rayne” from William, Bishop of Aberdeen.²

By 1587 James Arbuthnot had come into possession of the other two-thirds of the lands, for on 10th January of that year there is “Precept for a charter of feu farm by the King to James Arbuthnot in Lentusche, of the lands of Lentusche extending to three ploughs of land lying in the parish of Rayne, formerly belonging to the bishopric of Aberdeen and now annexed to the crown.” In this charter James’s third wife, Grizel Leslie, is mentioned, Lentusche being entailed on his issue by her, failing whom, on his nearest lawful heirs.³

At this time James Arbuthnot was on the worst of terms with his brother-in-law, William Leslie of Civilie, second son of William Leslie of Balquhaine, the subject of dispute appearing to be the lands of Lentusche. On 10th February, 1587, we come on the following entry :

“Gift to John Arbuthnot, son and apparent heir of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, of the escheat of Mr. William Leslie, who is at the horn for not finding caution and lawburrows for the safety of the said James Arbuthnot.”⁴

On 7th February, 1587-8, James Arbuthnot brought a complaint against William Leslie “touching the ejection of the said James, his daughter and servants from the lands and houses of Lentusche, and intromission with the writs and goods therein.”⁵ The Lords commanded William Leslie to find caution in £2,000 within twenty-four hours that “the

¹ *Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines.*

² “Precept for a charter confirming a charter of feu farm by the deceased William, Bishop of Aberdeen, with consent of his dean and chapter to James Arbuthnot, burgess of Aberdeen, etc., 1585.”—*Register of the Privy Seal*, vol. 53.

³ *Register of the Privy Seal*, vol. 56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 57.

⁵ *Registers of the Privy Council*, vol. iv. p. 250.

said James, his bairns, tenants and servants, shall be harmless of him." A day or two later, 11th February, Alexander Lord Hume and John Gordon of Buckie became cautioners in the above sum for the good behaviour of William Leslie. It seems, however, that Leslie was less prompt in restoring the property, for, on 12th February, James brought an action against several persons, including William Leslie, his brother-in-law, George Leslie, apparent of Kincraigie, and a certain Alexander Jaffray, charging them with being "havers, detainers and withholders of the tower and fortalice of Lentusche," and calling upon them to "render the same to him." From this entry we understand that there was once a fortified house or castle at Lentusche, though it is impossible now to locate the site of it.

On 16th February Alexander Jaffray retorted by bringing an action against James for "withholding from the said Alexander of eight oxgate of land of the lands of Lentush, called the Meikle plough¹ . . . and intromitting with the profits thereof."²

In 1588 this quarrel was still dragging on, for we come on an "Action at the instance of James Arbuthnot in Lentush as assignee to the deceased George Leslie, portioner of Lentush, disponer of the middle plough of the town and lands of Lentush to the deceased Alexander Jaffray under reversion, against Alexander Jaffray, burgess of Aberdeen, for not making renunciation of the said lands." James Arbuthnot won his case, the Lords finding "the lands lawfully redeemed by the said James Arbuthnot on 5th August, 1587, he giving warning and premonition to the party by John Arbuthnot his son, as procurator, and consigning the money in the office of the sheriff clerk at Aberdeen, being £130 Scots."³

On 15th January, 1591-2, William Leslie of Civilie (brother of James's deceased wife, Isobel Leslie) obtained from the King a grant in feu farm of the sunny, middle, and shadow ploughs of Lentusche, which had perhaps escheated to the Crown through some misdemeanour of James. In 1594 John Leith in Luesk obtained some rights over it, and

¹ Middle plough is probably meant.

² *Register of Acts and Decrees*, vol. 114.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 116.

in 1597-8 William Leslie once more got a grant in feu farm of Bonytown, Luesk, and the third part of Lentusche, together with various other lands.¹

In 1600 a contract was registered whereby William Leslie sold to John Arbuthnot "of Carnegaw" for £1,000 Scots his "town and lands of Leddintusche, extending to three ploughs of land with houses and pertinents," etc.²

In 1601 James Arbuthnot was once more in possession of Lentusche, for on 9th May in that year, by a charter signed at Lentusche, he made over his rights in the shadow and sunny plough to his son James, reserving to himself and Grizel Leslie "their liferent of the said sunny half."

On 8th April, 1607, a contract was signed between John Gordon of Tilligraig (who was the husband of Helen Arbuthnot, daughter of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche) on the one part and "James Arbuthnot, younger, fiar of Lentusche, John Arbuthnot of Cairngall, his brother, with consent of *James Arbuthnot of Portertown*, their father, for his right and interest," on the other, whereby they "grant the shadow half of the said town of Lentush to be redeemed for 1,800 merks by the said John Gordon," etc.

The same day John Gordon got sasine of the lands, on a charter dated at Aberdeen and Portertown, 1st April and 4th April, 1607, reserving to "the said James Arbuthnot, elder, his liferent of the sunny half thereof."³

Two months later Mr. William Gordon of Drumnethie (perhaps a son of the above John Gordon) got sasine of the lands of Lentusche, "with manor-place, orchards, yards, the Cokmure," etc., reserving as before "to James Arbuthnot, elder, sometime of Ledingtushe, his liferent of the sunny half thereof."⁴

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, vol. vi. No. 672.

² *Aberdeenshire Register of Deeds*, vol. 76. The document proceeds as follows : "And forasmuch as Alexander Jafray, burgess of Aberdeen, obtained decret of removing before the sheriff of Aberdeen in 159., against James Arbuthnot of Leddintusche, to remove from the middle plough of the said town and lands of Leddintusche, and thereafter assigned the said decret to the said Mr. William Leslie, therefore the latter discharges the said John Arbuthnot thereof. He also assigns to the said John Arbuthnot all sums of money and goods falling to him as executor dative to the deceased Isobel Leslie, his sister, spouse in her time to James Arbuthnot of Leddintusche."

³ *Aberdeenshire Sasines*, vol. vi.

⁴ *Ibid.*

This brings to an end the Arbuthnot connection with Lentusche, which now forms part of the estate of Mr. Forbes-Gordon of Rayne. There is nothing to be seen there now but a few fields, some trees, and a cottage or two. The "fortalice" has disappeared, and the Arbuthnot occupation of the lands was recently not even a memory, for it was quite unsuspected until the late investigations revealed the fact that Lentusche was not, as had been supposed, in Kincardineshire, but in the parish of Rayne, Aberdeenshire, only two miles from Warthill.¹

So far we have followed up the transactions relating to the estate of Lentusche, out of their proper sequence, with the object of presenting to the reader a connected account. We must now retrace our steps and follow up such records of James Arbuthnot's career as are to be found in various documents of the period.

On 10th April, 1570, we find registration of contract dated at Aberdeen, "between David Mar, burgess of Aberdeen, and James Arbuthnot, burgess thereof, whereby for 221 merks the said David Mar obliges himself to infeft the said James Arbuthnot in his tenement of land on the south side of the Castlegate of Aberdeen, under reversion."

In July, the same year, "James Arbuthnot, burgess of Aberdeen," gave sasine to "Thomas Arbuthnot, his third lawful son," of his crofts on the south side of the Crofts of Aberdeen.²

On 29th September, 1573, James redeemed this land from his son Thomas, calling on his own brother, Robert—who acted as "tutor" to Thomas—to see consignation made of an angel noble "for the redemption from the said Thomas of a croft on the west side of the crofts of Aberdeen, disposed by James to the said Thomas."³

In 1572-3 we find the name of "Lieutenant James Arbuthnot" among a list of persons included in the remission

¹ It is a curious coincidence that, through the marriage of Miss Mary Rose Leslie, heiress of Warthill, to George Arbuthnot of Elderslie in 1875, the Arbuthnots have returned to the parish of Rayne, after an absence of over two centuries. As far as Aberdeenshire is concerned, the family is now solely represented in the male line by Mr. William Arbuthnot-Leslie of Warthill.

² *Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines.*

³ *Ibid.*

to the Earl of Huntly and the Hamiltons for their adherence to the cause of Mary Stuart. That cause was now irretrievably lost, receiving its death-blow in the fall of Edinburgh Castle, 29th May, 1573. Lieutenant James Arbuthnot is named in a list of "capitanis of men of weare underwrittin," where we find mention of "Capitane Thomas Ker, James Arbuthnot, his Lieutenant." If we are right in supposing this to be James Arbuthnot of Lentusche—and this seems probable from the fact that his name frequently comes up later in connection with that of Thomas Ker¹—then we must conclude that at the commencement of his career James had thrown in his lot with the Queen's party. Later we shall find him consistently supporting the opposite faction.

On 11th May, 1574, there is Registration of Contract dated at Aberdeen, between "James Arbuthnot of *Lentushe*" and George Straquhyne, burgess of Aberdeen, whereby Arbuthnot sells to Straquhyne his croft in the west territory of the Crofts of Aberdeen for 440 merks, "and because Thomas Arbuthnot, son of the said James, was infeft in the said croft under reversion, the said James obliges himself to recover a decretet before the Lords of Council, decerning the said croft to be lawfully redeemed from the said Thomas.

In 1576 James Arbuthnot of Lentusche was one of the sureties for the printing of the Bassendyne Bible, the first Bible to be printed in Scotland in the vernacular. As we have already remarked (p. 89), all the other sureties were Forfarshire gentlemen. (James, it will be remembered, was eldest son of John Arbuthnot of Legasland, in Forfarshire.)

In 1578-9 we find the somewhat ubiquitous and surprising James Arbuthnot of Lentusche mentioned as Chamberlain to John, eighth Lord Glamis, Chancellor of Scotland. After the death of Lord Glamis in a fray at Stirling in 1578, his

¹ Although on all later occasions the two men are found at variance with one another. For instance, in April, 1585, "Captain Thomas Ker" was relaxed from horning, he having been outlawed for "keeping and detaining the mansion and houses of Long Seat," which were the property of the Arbuthnots, in the Barony of Belhelvie. In June, 1585, Captain Thomas Ker, with William Keith, valet of the King's Chamber, got the escheat of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, who was then at the horn for the murder of Andrew Symson. In November, the same year, Thomas Ker was again put to the horn for wrongful occupation of the above lands, the Master of Glamis supporting the Arbuthnot claim, and was forced to vacate them.

Chamberlain was proceeded against by certain burgesses of Edinburgh—Harry Smith and William Maull—"for delivery of certain victual contained in the chancellor's precept to his said chamberlain." James was at some time in this year imprisoned in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh at the instance of Smith and Maull.¹

The trouble occasioned to James by the death of Lord Glamis seems to have lasted on into 1580, when Janet Fockart, widow of James Hathowy, brought an action against "James Arbuthnot of Lentusche" for payment of £310 (as the balance of a greater sum) "due for merchandise purchased on 7th March, 1577, for the use of the deceased John, Lord Glamis, Chancellor of Scotland."

It is probable that during the minority of the young Lord Glamis, who was only four years old at the time of his father's death, James Arbuthnot was continued in the office of Chamberlain by the infant's guardian, Thomas Lyon, known as the Master of Glamis. In 1592 James Arbuthnot was present at Glamis and signed as witness to a deed by which the Master of Glamis sold some land to Mr. James Fotheringham, rector of Balumbie. On Lord Glamis's attaining his majority, he proceeded to inquire into the management of his estates during his infancy, when it became clear that the Master had conducted matters in a by no means disinterested manner. It is possible that in the ensuing controversies James Arbuthnot, as Chamberlain, may have been involved. Certainly, Patrick Lord Glamis displayed later an implacable hatred towards the Arbuthnots, several of whom (including James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, his son John of Cairngall, and his brother David) were his tenants on his Aberdeenshire property in Belhelvie parish. We shall find him presently making strenuous efforts to eject them from their holdings, and appearing as the moving spirit in a tragedy the causes of which are rather obscure.

In 1579 James Arbuthnot, who seems to have shared the fierce manners of those times, was concerned in the murder of Andrew Symsons, son of James Symsons, a resident in Long Seat, Belhelvie. In the subsequent indictment it is recited that he "with his accomplices, armed, assailed the

¹ *Acts and Decrets*, vol. 73.

said deceased Andrew Symsons on the highway, in June 1579, at Meirburn, and wounded him and carried him to the place of Ardoch, where they kept him in the stocks for 48 hours, whereupon ensued a fatal illness, and they would not suffer him to be at liberty until his father, the said James Symsons, renounced his tack of the lands of Long Seat and put the said James Arbuthnot in possession. The said Andrew Symsons died in June, 1580, after a year's illness on that account."¹ We shall see that some years later James was called to account for this outrage, but for the present, and doubtless with the tacit consent of the Master of Glamis, his patron, he got possession of the Symsons estates in Belhelvie parish.

In 1581-2 some trouble arose with regard to the Bassendyne Bibles which Alexander Arbuthnot the printer and Thomas Bassendyne (now deceased) had undertaken to deliver by a certain date to every parish that had advanced money for the purpose. This contract had not been carried out, and James of Lentusche, as one of the sureties, found himself answerable for this dereliction. Letters of horning were raised against him and the other sureties on 9th January, at the instance of Archibald Douglas, Messenger in Old Aberdeen, but they successfully appealed against the validity of these letters, stating that Douglas "is only commissioner for the Bishops, superintendants and visitors of the diocese of Aberdeen, to whom they are not bound." The matter did not end here, for after the death of Alexander Arbuthnot the sureties had further trouble over this matter.

On 2nd June, 1582, "James Arbuthnot of Ledintushe" redeemed a tenement and yard in the Castlegate, Aberdeen, on behalf of William Arbuthnot his son.* On the 14th of the same month William Arbuthnot, "with consent of his said father and administrator, acknowledges a tenement of land in the Castlegate, lawfully redeemed by Mr. Menzies of Dorn for 340 merks."³

¹ *Aberdeenshire Hornings.*

² *Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines.*

³ *Aberdeen Burgh Court Deeds.* See p. 94, where it will be seen that sixteen years earlier William Menzies had resigned this tenement in favour of James Arbuthnot, "of Newbigging," and Christian Collace.

We now come to the part taken by James Arbuthnot of Lentusche in the Earl of Angus's rebellion, and it is necessary to take a brief glance at the position of affairs in Scotland in the early part of the reign of James VI. As in the brief personal reign of Mary Stuart, plots and counter-plots distracted the kingdom, while the foreign agents of Elizabeth and of France strove to outbid one another, rendering peace in Scotland impossible. We find two violently antagonistic parties ranged against one another—on one side the party (supported by the Kirk) that favoured friendship with England, and on the other that which preferred the traditional French alliance, and asked nothing better than to indulge their hereditary hostility towards "the auld enemy." To the latter party one may well suppose the younger and more hot-headed men would be inclined, while the older, wiser, level-headed councillors, who had a sober regard to policy and expediency, or a wholesome fear of their powerful neighbour, were staunch for a solid understanding with England. The young King had been brought up under a system of morose severity by the "English" party, headed by the Regent Morton, but we find in James no sign of restlessness, resentment, or dissatisfaction with his surroundings until the arrival in Scotland in September, 1579, of his brilliant and fascinating kinsman, Esmé Stuart, Count d'Aubigny. This nobleman, arriving ostensibly on a harmless visit of friendship, was in reality charged with a political mission of deepest import, being an emissary of the house of Guise, pledged to do his utmost towards the re-establishment of French influence at the Scottish Court, and to encourage a *rapprochement* between James and his unhappy mother, now in the eleventh year of her imprisonment in England. This plan succeeded beyond all expectation. Once more the name of Mary Stuart could be breathed in the halls and galleries of the old palace that had been so fatal to her, but which will ever be haunted by her memory. For the first time the King heard her name spoken with reverence and pity. James was at a romantic age. His French cousin had no difficulty in obtaining a complete ascendancy over him, and before long had so far consolidated his power that, with the help of James Stewart, afterwards Earl of Arran, he was instrumental in having Morton

arraigned for complicity in the murder of Darnley and brought to the block in 1581, there to suffer a penalty long over-due.

The power wielded by the new favourite, together with his haughty demeanour and undoubted misgovernment, naturally brought him deadly enemies, and plots, encouraged by Elizabeth, began to thicken. D'Aubigny, now Duke of Lennox, with Arran, ruled the kingdom, and it is probable that James, in his new-found freedom and pleasant companionship, had never before been so happy in his life. A ray of comfort, too, came to Mary Stuart in her desolate prison. "The poor child," she wrote of her son to Mauvissière, the French Ambassador in London, "under the tyranny of the wretch Morton, was forced to slight the obligation towards me that was born with him. Yet vainly have all my enemies laboured to tear it from his heart, while we were all our lives held at distance from each other."¹

Later, with pathetic confidence, she wrote: "Nothing can sever me from him, for I live for him and not for myself." She played with this hope for a year or two, till the flicker of romance was quenched in James, and he finally disposed himself to follow the line of selfish interest and abandon the mother he had never known.²

¹ *Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 307.

² The question must sometimes occur, Shall we ever see a complete edition in English of the letters of Mary Stuart, hundreds of which have long since been published in the original French by Prince Alexander Labanoff? Those wonderful letters, written, one might truly say, with her heart's blood, as full of contradictions and inconsistencies as human nature itself, but so terribly, remorselessly sincere—so poignantly faithful to the impulse of the moment. They carry across the centuries the cry of a tortured spirit, they vibrate with the anguish of nineteen years of hope deferred—those long bitter years, that are so much less easy to forgive than the last tragic scene at Fotheringhay! And the woman who suffered so was not of her own day only—there lies the secret of her power. She is modern to the finger-tips. She is a woman of to-day, flung, through some strange caprice of fate, into the barbarous tumults of the century with which her name is linked. Her letters are literature, because they are perfect self-expression. In them every note in the scale of human emotion is touched in turn—whether it be hope, tenderness, pathos, wounded affection, ambition, disillusionment, anger, despair, revenge, or, in the end, resignation and noble exaltation. Surely every passion that can sweep across the human soul is there—excepting only meanness or ingratitude! Though some of us may love to read these letters in the old French in which the poor Queen wrote them, yet there are many who have not had the leisure to qualify themselves for this purpose, and to all of us, in any case, such a translation would be more than welcome. Let us hope that one of the native writers will some day gratify us by undertaking this task, which was only partially, though very sympathetically, executed by Miss Strickland.

We must pass over the Ruthven Raid of 1582 and come at once to what concerns our story most, namely, the Angus Rebellion of 1584. A powerful party of malcontents had been formed, headed by Angus, Mar, Gowrie, the Master of Glamis, and others of the "English" party, who, sure of Elizabeth's support, had resolved to venture all in an attempt to overthrow the favourite, seize the King's person, and establish their own party in power. The Master of Glamis was deeply implicated in this plot. He had been a principal actor in the temporarily successful Raid of Ruthven, had been banished immediately afterwards, and had nothing to hope for under the Lennox *régime*. It was probably as a retainer of the Master of Glamis that James Arbuthnot, with his son John, took part in this rebellion. As tenants on the Glamis estates, they would naturally follow their territorial over-lord in the desperate enterprise on which he had embarked.

Their plans complete, the rebels, most of whom had been sheltered in England during Arran's supremacy, suddenly made their appearance at the head of an armed force, and, marching upon Stirling, seized that city by a *coup-de-main*. The King and his adherents were, however, well prepared, and, mustering an overwhelming force, marched on the rebels; these, recognizing their position as hopeless, promptly disbanded their troops and fled across the border, sure of a welcome from the ever-hospitable Elizabeth. Although his son John reached England safely,¹ James Arbuthnot of Lentusche does not appear to have made good his escape on this occasion, for we find that he was apprehended and shortly afterwards warded in Edinburgh. On 20th August, George, Earl of Huntly, declared in the presence of the King and Lords of the Articles that "he had at the kingis majesties' command tane James Arbuthnot of Lyntusk, quhome he had presentlie within the burgh of Edinburgh, ready to be exhibit in presence of his grace and three estaitis presentlie convenit." He was commanded to "keip the said James until his hienes and lordis of secreit counsale war farther advisit, as he wold answer to his grace upon his obedience."²

¹ Letters of horning were served at his "dwelling-place" in the "Overtoun of Belhelvie," 8th June, 1584.—*Aberdeenshire Hornings*.

² *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 334.

The same day a summons of treason was executed and endorsed against all the participators in the rebellion, among whom we find the name of "Johne Arbuthnott of Lyntusk," the crime being "the late tumult and rebelloun lately committet aganis us" and for not "comepairing before the kingis majestie and his estaitis of parliament this instant day," although all had, it seems, been "thrie sindrie tymes oppinlie callit at the tollbuyth."

The following day, 21st August, a fresh summons was issued against the rebels, in which it is recounted that they had "licence grantit to thame to pas furthe of the realme and nocht to cum in Ingland nor Ireland. And notwithstanding thereof that they reparit in Ingland and trafiquit for the erlis of Angus, Mar, and the rest of the said conspirators at the court of Ingland." Then reference is made to a declaration by the Archbishop of St. Andrews that he saw them "in Ingland efter the said licence grantit," and then summons of treason is pronounced against a long list of delinquents—among whom is "Johne Arbuthnot of Lyntusk"—who are declared to be "fugitive" and to have "fled in Ingland togidder."

On 22nd August another long Act recounts the offences of the various parties already denounced, and summons of treason is once more promulgated, sundry details being added to the former indictments. Among the rebels "John Arbuthnot, apperand of Lyntusk" is again denounced and it is shown that whereas the rebels had been summoned to "comepair" before the King and his council on the 20th August, "to have answerit upon the crymes and pointtis of treassoun and lesemaiestie under writtin contenit in the same summondis," they had failed to put in an appearance, after being lawfully summoned, the King's messengers having not only publicly called on them at the market crosses of Edinburgh, Cupar, Kinross, Perth, Aberdeen, etc., to appear and answer for their acts of treason, but also conveyed his Majesty's summonses to the residences of the accused, visiting, among others, "the place of Lyntusk, quhare the said Johnne Arbuthnot made residens." After having "dewlie and syndrie tymes knockit at the zettis (gates) of the saidis places, . . . and affixt and left a just coppie one ilk of

the saidis zettis," the King's messengers were forced, it seems, to withdraw discomfited, their quarry having (very wisely) made good its escape across the border. The Act goes on to declare that every one of the rebels "hes committit and incurrit the crymes of treassoun and lesemaiestie in the hail pointtis and articles obtenit in the said summondis," and it is therefore discerned and declared that "all thair guidis movable and unmovable alsweill landis as offices and utheris quhatsumever belonging to thame to be confiscat to our said souveraine lord and remain perpetualie with his hienes in property for ever, and thair persones to underlye the pane of treassoun and last punishment appointit by the laus of this realme."¹

John Arbuthnot was relaxed from the horn on 31st March, 1585, and James must also by this time have made his peace with the authorities, for we find the father and son in that month making strenuous efforts to regain possession of their lands in Belhelvie, which had been seized in their absence by the Symsons family and one Thomas Ker. The Symsons retaliated by putting James Arbuthnot to the horn for the murder of Andrew Symson a few years earlier. From this charge James managed to clear himself the following year, but in the meantime he remained at the horn and the Symsons in possession of the disputed lands. At this point public affairs again strike across our narrative.

Nothing could have seemed more complete than the triumph of the King's party and the discomfiture of his enemies in the autumn of 1584, the "English" faction appearing to be finally demoralized and dispersed. But the rebels had by no means abandoned their schemes, and the following year the country was again distracted with a fresh rebellion, this time far better organized and supported than the year before. Besides being quite unprepared, the King had hopelessly alienated the Kirk and all those who from policy or religious zeal favoured the Presbyterian system, thus driving this powerful faction into open collusion with the rebels and English intriguers.

¹ In this long Act, part of which is in Latin, John Arbuthnot is variously mentioned as "Johne Arbuthnot apperand of Lyntusk," "Johannem arbuthnet Juniolem de Lyntusk," "Johne arbuthnot, sone to James arbuthnot of Lyntusk."

The rebels, once more crossing the border, advanced without opposition and again seized Stirling. The weakness of the Crown was demonstrated by the fact that James did not attempt resistance. Arran fled precipitately, and the King, once reassured as to his personal safety, capitulated without striking a blow. Arran was promptly denounced a traitor in the King's name, and pardons were lavished on all the rebels.

The Act of Parliament rehabilitating them recounts that the commonwealth had been "wonderfullie afflictit" through many dissensions among the nobles, and goes on to say that his Majesty King James VI, being "maist desirous of the unione and concord of all his subjectis," and taking into consideration the "honest and cumlie" demeanour of certain noblemen and gentlemen (among the latter are mentioned "James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, John Arbuthnot, his sone, David Arbuthnot . . . and utheris") "who repared to his Grace at Sterling on the second day of November last bipast," has been pleased to remit all penalties and to reverse all sentences of forfeiture before pronounced against them.

These pardons can hardly be regarded as an act of grace on the part of the King. They were extorted from him by the unanswerable argument of superior force, and circumstances compelled him to receive as friends those who a few months before had been denounced rebels and forfeited of all their goods. Henceforth the "English" party reigned supreme in Scotland, revelling in its final triumph when in 1587 the judicial murder of Mary Stuart at Fotheringhay destroyed the last link with the ancient traditional policy of a Franco-Scottish alliance.

We have seen that immediately before this second rebellion James Arbuthnot of Lentusche was engaged in an attempt to regain possession of his lands in Belhelvie parish. The political change, which had been so swiftly and successfully engineered, had now placed James in a position of advantage, giving him the active support of the Master of Glamis, who soon showed himself a force to be reckoned with. On 16th November, 1585, we find "Relaxation in favour of Thomas Ker, burgess of Aberdeen, from horning at the instance of

Mr. Thomas Lyon of Balduky, Master of Glamis, James Arbuthnot of Lentusche and John Arbuthnot, his son, and David Arbuthnot, his brother, for removing from the lands of Overtoun of Balhelwie and Langsett; he having already given obedience thereto.”¹

On 22nd January, 1585-6, there is “ Gift to John Arbuthnot and David Arbuthnot and their heirs and assignees of the escheat of Thomas Ker, burgess of Aberdeen, who is at the horn at the instance of John Arbuthnot, son of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, and David Arbuthnot, brother of the said James Arbuthnot, for not rendering to them the lands of Overtoun and Langsett in the barony of Balhelveis.”²

On 10th January, 1586-7, James Arbuthnot of Lentusche obtained decret before the Lords of Council “ against Thomas Ker, burgess of Aberdeen, and others, for spoliation on 16th June, 1584, of his lands of Overtoun of Belhelvies, Murtoun, Keir and Langseitt, to prevent the said persons from defrauding him of redress.”³

This is the last that we hear of this affair, and we conclude that, for some years at least, the Arbuthnots remained in peaceful, though perhaps wrongful, possession of their Belhelvie estates.

In March, 1587, James's son William got his father's escheat, the latter being at the horn for “ not payment to Helen Gray, widow of George Gray, of Sheilhill, of £600 consigned in his hands by Margaret Lyoun, lawful daughter of Mr. Thomas Lyoun of Baldewkie, Master of Glamis, for redemption of the lands of Lenross, in Forfarshire.”⁴

On 15th August, 1587, we find the only mention of Robert Arbuthnot of Rora, believed to be ancestor of the Aberdeenshire Arbuthnots, in connection with James Arbuthnot of Lentusche. On various occasions we find James's sons, John and William, getting his escheat when he is at the horn, and on 15th August, 1587, we come on the following entry in the *Register of the Privy Seal*:

“ Gift to Robert Arbuthnot in Rora and his heirs and assignees of the escheat of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche,

¹ *Aberdeenshire Hornings*.

² *Register of the Privy Seal*, vol. 53.

³ *Aberdeenshire Hornings*.

⁴ *Register of the Privy Seal*, vol. 57.

who is at the horn for not payment to William Fraser in Bogheids of £80 Scots as the balance of £146 contained in a decret by the commissary of Aberdeen.”¹

We have seen that in 1581-2 there was some trouble over the matter of the Bassendyne Bible. This subject comes up again in 1587, when we find the following entry in the *Register of the Privy Council* :²

“Edinburgh, December 23, 1587. Caution by Johnne [*James* is here intended, as appears by the context] Arbuthnote of Lentusche, as principal and Johnne Arbuthnot of Legland [*Legasland* is meant] as surety for him and for David Guthrie of Kincaldrum, William Guthrie of Halkartoun and Williame Rynd of Kers, that they shall deliver to Archibald Douglas, Messenger in Ald Aberdeen, 102 ‘Biblis bundin blak and glaspitt with all damage and entres,’ in conformity with an obligation made by the late Alexander Arbuthnott and Thomas Bassendyne, printer, as principals, and the said *James* Arbuthnote and the other sureties foresaid, as sureties for them.”

In this entry we get the important inference that James’s son John was of Legasland at this time. He may, perhaps, have inherited it direct from his grandfather, who died in 1573-4. We find him styled “of Legasland” in 1591, the date of his infetment in the estate of Cairngall, to which we shall refer later on.

In 1589 James Arbuthnot was surety for William Leslie of Warthill that the latter “shall attempt nothing in haste or prejudice of His Majestie his authorities, the present estate, realme and legis, nor the religioun presentlie professit within the same”³

In November, 1590, a rather complicated action took place in the Arbuthnot family. It seems that James Arbuthnot’s grandson, John, described as “son of John Arbuthnot of

¹ Some light is perhaps thrown on this debt by a later entry in the same record, 24th October, 1590 : “Gift to William Arbuthnot, son of James Arbuthnot, of Lentusche, of the escheat of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, who is at the horn for non-payment to William Fraser in Boigheid of 100 merks as part of the tocher promised to him by Alexander Arbuthnot, brother to the said James, for which James became cautioner.” This Alexander we take to be the printer.

² Vol. iv. pp. 237-8.

³ *Register of the Privy Council*, vol. iv. p. 378.

Leggisland," received his father's and grandfather's escheat, they being at the horn at the instance of William Leslie, for non-payment to him "as executor to Isobel Leslie, his sister, of a sum of money contained in a decret." William Leslie had also obtained letters against this younger John Arbuthnot "to desist from molesting the said Mr. William for his escheat in respect of the above sum."¹

On 1st December, 1591, we come to the date of the infestment of John Arbuthnot in the estate of Cairngall, after which he is invariably mentioned as "of Cairngall." This deed will be found printed *in extenso* in Appendix II. It will be seen that James Arbuthnot is associated with his son in the purchase of this estate from Sir John Gordon of Pitlurg, but James himself appears never to have been in possession of it. He probably advanced the money for its purchase and for redeeming portions of it which were wadset to various persons, but it appears that his son John was put in possession of it and made it his residence.

On 12th November, 1591, James Arbuthnot "of Ledin-tushe," with his "second lawful son," William, burgess of Aberdeen, resigned a half net's salmon fishing "on the Water of Dee" in favour of William Donaldson, burgess of Aberdeen.²

On 16th May, 1601, Patrick Lord Glamis, having obtained decret of removing against James and John Arbuthnot, made vigorous efforts to eject the Arbuthnots from their holdings in Belhelvie. On that date we find the following entry among the *Aberdeenshire Hornings*:³

"Horning at the instance of Patrick Lord Glamis against *John Arbuthnot of Lentushe*" and others⁴ "for wrongful occupation of the towns and lands of Keir and Eigie in the parish of Balhelveis, Aberdeenshire, from Whitsunday, 1598, when they were warned to remove therefrom. The letters are dated 10th March, 1601, and executed on 28th April, 1601, against John Arbuthnot of Cairngall at his dwelling-

¹ *Register of the Privy Seal*, vol. 61.

² *Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines*.

³ Vol. x.

⁴ Among whom appears the name of "Henry Arbuthnot," whom we have failed to identify. He seems to have occupied six oxgates of the lands of Keir, Belhelvie, and was very probably a son of James of Lentusche.

place of Cairngall, the letters being delivered to his wife, as he was not present," etc.

On 6th September, 1601, Lord Glamis murdered Patrick Johnston, who was one of his tenants in Belhelvie, and had married Margaret Arbuthnot, believed to be the daughter of John Arbuthnot, first Laird of Cairngall. This outrage, which will be described in detail later, no doubt added to the acrimony of the situation, and quickened Lord Glamis's desire to be rid of the Arbuthnots, who might be meditating revenge for the crime.

On 8th February, 1602, there is "Registration of Bond by James Arbuthnett of Lentuchie and John Arbuthnett of Carnigall, narrating action of removal at the instance of Patrick Lord Glamis, against them and their tenants of the lands of Egie and Kier in the parish of Balhelvie, in which they have found William Leslie of Warthill cautioner for payment of the violent profits, and now they oblige themselves to relieve their said cautioner." The original bond had been dated 12th November, 1599, a witness being "Alexander Arbuthnett."¹

In 1609 this quarrel was still raging, as we shall see when we come to consider the career of John, first Laird of Cairngall.

In 1606 James Arbuthnot of Lentusche is mentioned in the *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, where, with several others, and in conjunction with the Council and Community, he joins in raising letters summoning John Leith, elder of Hart-hill, and his son John, to answer for imposing certain unlawful taxes at the annual fair of St. Lawrence, in Old Rayne. According to the complainants, they had possessed themselves "wrangouslie, violentlie, and maisterfullie, without onie kind of richt, infetment, gift, licence, or uther warrant grantit to thame be his Maiestie . . ."—namely, had extorted payment "of everie stand sett downe for haulding of merchandice, or ony uther guidis and geir, upon the ground of the saidis landis of Auld Rayne, thretteine schillingis, 4d.; of everie ox, kow, or horse, seixtene d.; of everie scheip, aucht d.," etc., etc.²

¹ *Aberdeen Registers of Deeds*, vol. 84.

² Extracts from the *Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, edited by J. Stuart, 1848, vol. ii. p. 282

The fair of St. Lawrence had been held from time immemorial in the parish of Old Rayne, the Leiths of Harthill being superiors of the lands on which it was held. The Leslie and Leiths were perpetually at feud, and James Arbuthnot, to say the least of it, does not appear to have been backward in flinging himself into all the controversies, both public and private, of his time.

In April, 1607, as we have seen, James Arbuthnot consented to the sale of Lentusche, with certain reservations, and on that occasion signed as "James Arbuthnot of Portertoun."

In September, 1607, James Arbuthnot was surety for "John Gordoun of Boigis and Robert Johnestoun in Kayismyne" in £1,000 for each, and for John Gordon of Chapeltown of Essilmont in 100 merks, that they would not harm a long list of persons, among whom occur several of the name of Lyon, also Jaffray and Wishart.

He probably died some time in the end of 1607. In an entry in the *Register of the Privy Council* in December, 1608, relating to the murder of George Leith of Harthill, to be mentioned later, "*the late James Arbuthnot of Lentuiche*" is referred to. His grandson, John Arbuthnot, brought an action against Grizel Leslie, James's third wife, in May 1609, for "spoliation, in 1607 and 1608, from his (John's) town and lands of Portertoune of goods, cattle, money, writs," etc.—seeming to imply that Grizel, in the first days of her widowhood, was by no means unmindful of her material interests.

James Arbuthnot was three times married. In 1564, 1565, and 1566-7, he was the husband of Christian Collace, probably belonging to the Forfarshire family of Collace of Balnamoon.

At some time in his career he was married to Isobel, daughter of William Leslie of Balquhaine. We can only guess at the date of this marriage, but it will doubtless have taken place some time after 1566-7, when his first wife, Christian Collace, is last mentioned, and very probably about the year 1568, when we find James Arbuthnot feuing land in Logydurno from William Leslie of Balquhaine. Isobel Leslie's mother was Joanna, daughter of John, sixth Lord Forbes, and widow of John, third Earl of Athol of the Stewart

line. Isobel was certainly dead before 1587, the year in which James Arbuthnot's third wife is first mentioned. We have seen that in 1600 William Leslie (Isobel's brother) claimed some money and goods falling to him as "executor dative to the deceased Isobel Leslie, his sister, spouse in her time to James Arbuthnot of Leddintushe."¹

From 1587 onwards we find mention of James Arbuthnot's third wife, Grizel Leslie, who survived him and was living in 1611, as we learn by a bond registered in 1613 "by Normand Arbuthnot, son of the deceased James Arbuthnot of Lentush in favour of Grizel Leslie, widow of the said James Arbuthnot, dated 11th October, 1611." Grizel Leslie was the daughter of William Leslie of Wardis, Falconer to James VI.

By one or other of these wives James Arbuthnot had issue—

- I. John, first Laird of Cairngall, of whom presently.
- II. William, to whom, on 6th March, 1567-8, Patrick Leslie, burgess of Aberdeen, resigned half a net's fishing in the River Dee.²

On this occasion he is described as "second lawful son of James Arbuthnot of Newbigging, burgess of Aberdeen." The other half net's fishing was, the same day, transferred to his father. On 18th April, 1569, William Arbuthnot, "second son of James Arbuthnot of Elpitie," was admitted burgess of Aberdeen.³

On 12th November, 1591, there is "Resignation by James Arbuthnot of Ledintushe, burgess of Aberdeen, and William Arbuthnot his second lawful son, burgess thereof, of their fishing of the half net's salmon fishing on the Water of Dee, in favour of William Donaldson, burgess of Aberdeen," etc.⁴

- III. Thomas, mentioned July 22nd, 1570, in a "Sasine by James Arbuthnot, burgess of Aberdeen, to Thomas Arbuthnot, his third lawful son, and his heirs and assignees, under reversion for an angel

¹ *Aberdeen Register of Deeds*, vol. 76.

² *Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines*.

³ *Aberdeen Guild and Burgess List*.

⁴ *Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines*.

noble, of his croft on the south side of the crofts of Aberdeen, and an annual rent out of the same." On 29th September, 1573, this croft was redeemed. Robert Arbuthnot, "father's brother and tutor to Thomas Arbuthnot, lawful son of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche," was charged to appear and "see consignation made of an angel noble for redemption from the said Thomas of a croft on the west side of the Crofts of Aberdeen lying at the Craibstone, dispoined by the said James Arbuthnot to the said Thomas."¹

IV. Alexander, who, in December, 1608, was at the horn in company with George Leslie of Oldcraig and John Duncan, "servitor to the said George Leslie," for the murder of George Leith, third son of John Leith of Harthill, whom it appears they had attacked "with hagbuts" and thereafter stripping him of his habiliments, together with his sword, steelbonnet and purse containing £100 of gold and £10 in white silver," etc.²

In January, 1609, John Leslie of Wardis found caution not to "reset" the murderers while at the horn for this crime, but in 1615, six years later, the offenders being still unrelaxed, a long complaint by the murdered man's widow and relatives accuses John Leslie of Wardis of having broken this undertaking, having "reset" the murderers, sent a horse to George Leslie of Oldcraig, entertained him at Wardis, and "forgadderit" with him at Inverurie, etc.³

According to Moir, this Alexander Arbuthnot, brother of the first Laird of Cairngall, was ancestor of one line of the Buchan Arbuthnots. We shall therefore return to him when dealing with that branch of the family.⁴

¹ *Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines.*

² I.e. pistols.

³ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. viii. p. 204.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. x. p. 387.

⁵ After considering the above exploit of Alexander Arbuthnot and comparing it with incidents in the career of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, we are hardly inclined to agree with John Moir's rather rosy account of the virtues that had ever been characteristic of the Arbuthnots of Buchan. After enlarging upon their "uncommonly fine countenances and graceful persons," he proceeds: "But

V. William, second of the name, living simultaneously with the former William.¹

On 2nd June, 1582, there is "Redemption by James Arbuthnot of Ledintushe on behalf of William Arbuthnot, his son, of a tenement and yard in the Castlegate.² On the 14th of the same month, "William Arbuthnot, son of James Arbuthnot of Lentushe, with consent of his said father and administrator, acknowledges a tenement of land in the Castlegate lawfully redeemed by Mr. Thomas Menzies of Dorn for 340 merks.³

On 25th April, 1586, there is "Action at the instance of William Arbuthnot, with consent of James Arbuthnot, his father and tutor, against Patrick Hay, goldsmith." These three entries clearly establish that William Arbuthnot was a minor at the dates specified. The following extracts, however, might apply to either of the two Williams:

"March 5th, 1587. Gift to William Arbuthnot, son of James Arbuthnot of Lentushe, of the escheat of James Arbuthnot of Lentushe, who is at the horn" for non-payment of a sum of money to Helen Gray.⁴

"October 24th, 1590. Gift to William Arbuthnot, son of James Arbuthnot of Lentushe, of the escheat of James Arbuthnot of Lentushe, who is at the horn for non-payment to William Fraser in Boigheid of 100 merks, as part of the tocher promised to him by Alexander Arbuthnot, brother of the said James, for which James became cautioner."⁵

what peculiarly distinguished them and entitled them to the love and esteem of their contemporaries, was a suavity of manners and unaffected benevolence of heart, joined to a singular cheerfulness and *liveliness of disposition*, that has rarely been equalled and never excelled." (The italics are mine.) John Moir doubtless referred to the later generations of the family, or perhaps "*liveliness of disposition*" may be held to cover and excuse little adventures of the kind we have been obliged to record.

¹ This curious circumstance was not unusual. The Rev. Henry Paton, whose experience in genealogical research is unrivalled, tells me that he has come upon no less than three living Johns in one family. It will be seen that the two Williams cannot possibly have been identical, since the second one was under age in 1582 and 1586.

² *Burgh Register of Sasines*.

³ *Burgh Court Deeds*. This land had been acquired by James Arbuthnot and Christian Collace, his first wife, in 1566-7, as we have seen. It was resigned in their favour by Mr. Menzies, of Dorn, who now resumed possession of it.

⁴ *Register of the Privy Seal*, vol. 57, see *ante*, p. 109.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 61.

In 1605 William Arbuthnot was called, in company with his brother John Arbuthnot of Cairngall, as next-of-kin to his nephew, Andrew Leslie, son of John Leslie in Boigs and Helen Arbuthnot.¹

Among the *Edinburgh Testaments*, the will is recorded in 1607 of "William Arbuthnot in Newmanswalls, brother-german to John Arbuthnot of Carnegaff [*sic*], in the parish of Montrose and sherifffdom of Forfar, in Angus, who died in April, 1606, given up by the said John Arbuthnot of Carnegaff, his brother, as executor to him. His estate consisted of twenty sheep, a cow and a stot, with body clothes, valued in all to £73 6s. 8d." Among debts due to him is mentioned one "by Margaret Arbuthnot, sister to the defunct, for a mare, £10, he being cautioner therefore for Henry Arbuthnot," etc.

VI. Norman, appears to have been "servitor" to John Leslie of Wardis in 1607, 1608, and 1616.²

On 16th December, 1613, there is "Registration of Bond by Normand Arbuthnot, son of the deceased James Arbuthnot of Lentush, in favour of Grizel Leslie, widow of the said James Arbuthnot, dated 11th October, 1611."³

In 1614 "Normand Arbuthnot" was named with his brother John of Cairngall in a Curatory for the children of the late Patrick Johnston, "sometime of Moistoun."⁴

This Patrick was the husband of Margaret Arbuthnot, and was murdered in 1601 by Lord Glamis in Belhelvie Churchyard, as we shall see.

"Normond Arbuthnot" was, in 1616, put to the horn for having "reset" his brother Alexander, then in trouble for the murder of George Leith. He is referred to on this occasion as "in Boigheid."⁵

A Norman Leslie, son of "the late John Leslie of Balquhan," was admitted burgess of Aberdeen in July 1581.⁶

¹ *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. p. 56.

² From entries in the *Great Seal Registers*, *Registers of the Privy Council*, and *Aberdeenshire Hornings*.

³ *Aberdeen Sheriff Court Deeds*.

⁴ *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire*, edited by D. Littlejohn, vol. ii. p. 69.

⁵ *Aberdeenshire Hornings*, vol. 20.

⁶ *Aberdeen Guild and Burgess List*.

It was doubtless through the Leslies that the name Norman was introduced into the Arbuthnot family, and we shall probably not be wrong in supposing that Norman Arbuthnot was the son of Isobel Leslie, and had been named after his great-uncle. In 1624, "Normand Arbuthnot, burgess of Aberdeen," is cautioner in a suit between William Wilson in Milbrex and Patrick Gordon in Cairngall.¹

In 1632 "Normand Arbuthnot, burgess of Aberdeen," is named as assignee of William Forbes in Kinmundy,² and in 1658 a "Normond Arbuthnot in Bethelnie," was cautioner for Thomas Urquhart in Mowney, in the parish of Daviot.³

VII. James, second Laird of Lentusche, which estate, as we have seen, was made over to him in his father's lifetime. In the Charter conveying the lands to him, which was signed at Lentusche on 9th May, 1601, "Barbara Wishart, his future spouse," is named. A witness was James Wishart, lawful son of Alexander Wishart of Carnebeg, who was doubtless Barbara's brother or father. Registration of sasine is dated 9th May, 1607. The previous year, 1606, he had been at the horn, for what offence does not appear,⁴ and he was again at the horn in 1611 for the "slaughter" of William Wood in Thanestoun.⁵

On this last occasion he is described as "sometime of Lentusche."

He was living in 1636, and was then the husband of "Marie Fraser," daughter of Thomas Fraser of Durris, by his wife, Isobel Fraser, daughter of Michael Fraser of Stoneywood, and sister of Andrew, first Lord Fraser.⁶ The Frasers of Stoneywood at this time held the lands of Kinmundy, afterwards known as Nether Kinmundy, in the parish of Longside, and were therefore near neighbours of the Arbuthnots

¹ *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire*, edited by David Littlejohn, vol. ii. p. 278.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 357.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 58.

⁴ *Register of the Privy Council*, vol. viii. p. 357.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ix. p. 280.

⁶ *Register of Deeds*, vol. 487.

of Cairngall. There is no trace of any issue by this marriage, and we know nothing further of James Arbuthnot, second of Lentusche.

- I. Margaret, mentioned, as we have seen, in her brother William's will, in 1606.
- II. Helen, married first John Leslie of Boigs, who was dead before 1604; and secondly John Gordon of Boigs and of Tilligreig, Sheriff-Deputy of Aberdeen.¹ By her first husband she had at least one son, Andrew Leslie, portioner of Logydurno, who married Isobel Stewart, daughter of William Stewart of Cowstanes and Lamington, and had a son Robert, to whom a birthbrief was granted in 1661.²

In this document Helen Arbuthnot, then deceased, is described as "lauchfull dauchter to the deceast James Arbuthnot of Potertoun, within the parochin of Forden,³ schirrefdome of *Aberdein*."⁴

- III. Bessie, living in 1617. In that year there is a reference to her in the *Sheriff Court Deeds of Aberdeen*, where we find a minute of a "Registration of bond by George Cheyne in Bourhills of Straloch to Bessie Arbuthnot, daughter of the late James Arbuthnot of Lentusche."

- IV. Christian, married James, fifth son of Alexander Leslie, fourth of Pitcaple.⁵

¹ *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. pp. 154, 218.

² *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 338-9. Birthbrieves from the Registers of the Burgh of Aberdeen.

³ Fordoun.

⁴ This is evidently an error for Kincardineshire, and the editor of the *Spalding Club Miscellany* has so queried it. Unfortunately these birthbrieves, invaluable as they are for genealogical purposes, are not always free from mistakes. Nearly all the interests of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche having lain in Aberdeenshire, the slip is easy to understand. There is no parish in Aberdeenshire with a name resembling "Forden."

⁵ *Genealogical Collections concerning Families in Scotland*, by Walter Macfarlane, 1750-1: "Mr. James, fifth son to Alexander, Laird of Pitcaple, after his brother James' death got the lands of Daviot. He married Christian Arbuthnot, daughter to James Arbuthnot of Leatush. He died sans issue." In the *History of the Leslie Family*, Colonel Leslie mentions a *Janet* Arbuthnot, "daughter to the Laird of Netherdulan," married to John Leslie, *third* son of Alexander Leslie, fourth Baron of Pitcaple.

V. ? Marjorie, in 1572-3 the wife of John Mar, burgess of Aberdeen. An entry in the *Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines* runs as follows: "February 4, 1572-3, Sasine of John Mar, burgess of Aberdeen, and Marjorie Arbuthnot, his spouse (by John Arbuthnot her attorney), in a tenement in Aberdeen, on resignation by James Nicholson, writer, burgess of Edinburgh. Witnesses to the sasine are James Arbuthnot in Keir, and David Arbuthnot his brother, and Captain James Arbuthnot." It will be remembered that James Arbuthnot of Lentusche held land in Keir. If the John Arbuthnot referred to was James's eldest son, then this is the first mention of him so far discovered. The "Captain James Arbuthnot" might perhaps be James, second of Lentusche. In the same year, "Lieutenant James Arbuthnot" is mentioned in a pacification granted to the Earl of Huntly and other rebels.¹

In 1576 there is mention of a "Captain James Arbuthnot," then deceased, who was the husband of Agnes Bertane and had some transactions about a house in the Cowgate, Edinburgh, which he rented from John Hoy. In these transactions Alexander Arbuthnot the printer and his son, James, then an infant, are mentioned.²

We must now take up the line of the Lairds of Cairngall. "The Memory of the Arbuthnots of Cairngall has been long since totally forgot," writes John Moir, in a passage that reads like an epitaph on a vanished line. "This is of the less importance," he continues, "as that family and the succeeding one of Forbes are both extinct."³ Some little

¹ *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 199.

² *Registers of Deeds*, vol. 15.

³ Moir was mistaken as to the extinction of the Forbes family. Several of its members were living when he wrote, though no longer in possession of Cairngall. Miss M. Forbes, at present (1919) living in Peterhead, is the last lineal descendant of the Forbes of Cairngall. The estate of Cairngall passed away from this family in 1803, when it was sold by Mr. Duncan Forbes to Mr. John Hutchison, of Peterhead, and is now owned by the latter's grandson, Major W. E. Hutchison, who takes a great interest in the past history of his property, and most courteously allowed the writer every facility when, with Miss Violet Arbuthnot-Leslie, she visited it in the summer of 1917. Cairngall has been

information can, however, be collected with regard to the Cairngall Arbuthnots, who owned that estate from 1591 to 1748, after which it remained in the hands of their descendants, the Forbes', till 1803.

John Arbuthnot, first Laird of Cairngall, is first heard of when, no doubt as quite a young man, he took part with his father in the Earl of Angus's rebellion in 1584-5. We have seen that he was put to the horn in 1584, in which year he resided in "Overtoun of Belhelvie." The following year, 31st March, 1585, John Arbuthnot, "son and apparent heir of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche," was relaxed from horning.¹ The previous year, his uncle, David Arbuthnot, had been relaxed, and in January, 1585-6, John and David Arbuthnot obtained the escheat of Thomas Ker, burgess of Aberdeen, "who is at the horn at the instance of John Arbuthnot, son of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, and David Arbuthnot, for not rendering to them the lands of Overtoun and Langseat in the Barony of Belhelveis." Thomas Ker, during the outlawry of the Arbuthnots, had, with others, possessed himself of their estates, but this incident has been fully treated under James Arbuthnot of Lentusche. In 1586 we come on the signature of "John Arbuthnot of Portertown" to a Charter.² Unless this is an error for "James," it would seem to imply that John Arbuthnot at that date occupied the lands once in possession of his grandfather. His father, however, signed "of Portertown" in 1607.³ In 1587 he is referred to as "of Legland."⁴ In February that year he got the escheat of William Leslie, as we have seen.⁵

John Arbuthnot was infeft in Cairngall on 21st December, 1591, and on that occasion signed himself "of Leggisland." The estate was purchased for him by his father from Sir John Gordon of Pitlurg.⁶ Unimportant notices of him are found

judiciously enlarged, but part of it is old, though probably no portion of the present building was standing when the lands became the property of John Arbuthnot in 1591. Within the last few years some old stones marked "J. A." are said to have been found on one of the farms belonging to the estate.

¹ *Aberdeen Hornings*.

² *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, v., No. 1142.

³ See p. 113.

⁴ *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland*, iv. 237. § P. 96.

⁶ The Deed of Infeftment is given in full in Appendix II. Legasland had passed to the Traill family by 1608.

in various documents, including the *Registers of the Privy Council*, in 1591, 1601, 1610, etc. He was at the horn in 1598 for non-payment of 500 merks to a creditor.¹

In 1600 John Arbuthnot of Cairngall was surety for Patrick Johnston, his son-in-law, that he would appear and answer for his attack on Sir John Lindsay of Ballinscho.

On 31st July, 1600, Lord Glamis, as has been said, obtained decret of removing against John Arbuthnot, his father, and others, to remove from their lands in Belhelvie, and on 16th May, 1601, they were put to the horn for not having complied with the order. The letters were dated 10th March, 1601, and were "executed on 28th April, 1601, against John Arbuthnot of Cairngall, at his dwelling-place of Cairngall, the letters being delivered to his wife, as he was not present." This is the only mention yet found of the wife of the first Laird of Cairngall. Nothing is known of her, but we shall presently suggest that she may have been a Ramsay of Legasland. On 8th February, 1602, there is "Registration of Bond by James Arbuthnot of Lentusche and John Arbuthnot of Carnigall, narrating action of removing at the instance of Patrick, Lord Glamis, against them and their tenants of the lands of Egie and Keir in the parish of Belhelvie, in which they have found William Leslie of Warthill cautioner for payment of the violent profits, and now they oblige themselves to relieve their said cautioner."²

On 13th March, 1606, we find a "Complaint by Mr. William Leslie of Warthill that Johnne Arbuthnot of Carnegill, who had been denounced on 13th August, 1602, for not relieving complainer of all the articles in a decree of the Lords of Council and Session of date 2nd February, 1601, obtained by . . . Lord Glamis against the said Arbuthnot, as principal, and complainer as cautioner for him, remains still unrelaxed," etc. Defender failing to appear, there is decree against him.

In 1609 there is "Inhibition at the instance of John Arbuthnot of Carnegall against George Leslie of Crachie, brother-german and heir of conquest to the deceased Mr. William Leslie of Warthill, for relief and warrandice of the said John Arbuthnot at the hands of Patrick, Earl of Kinghorne,

¹ *Aberdeenshire Hornings*, vol. 8.

² *Register of Deeds*, vol. 84.

Lord Glamis,¹ in respect of the decret of removing obtained at the instance of the said Earl before the Lords of Council on 31st July, 1600, decerning the complainer and the deceased James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, his father," and others, "to remove from the lands of Keir and Egie in the parish of Belhelvies,"² etc.

The last we hear of this affair is in 1610, in which year there is "Complaint by Patrick Earl of Kinghorne, that George Leslie of Crechie and Patrick Cone of Auchry remain unrelaxed from a horning of 5th July last, the former for not paying the said Earl the violent profits mentioned in the decret of 25th July, 1607, recovered by him thereupon, and the latter for not entering Johnne Arbuthnot of *Darnegaw* in ward in the tolbooth of Edinburgh."³ The defenders not appearing, decree was entered against them.

Retracing our steps, we find that in 1605 John Arbuthnot of Cairngall, with his brother William (who died the following year), was called as next of kin to Andrew Leslie, son of his sister Helen, who had married John Leslie of Boigs. The next-of-kin on the father's side were John Leslie of Balquhaine and his brother, William Leslie of Civilie.⁴

In 1607 John Arbuthnot's unruly temperament would seem to have embroiled him with his neighbours, for in that year he entered into a bond not to harm various people in Belhelvie, of the names of Skene, Lyon, Jaffray, Wishart, Symson, and many others. He no doubt shared to the full the rough manners of the time, when the small lairds, faithfully imitating the customs of the greater nobility, spent their time in raids on one another's properties and in acts of oppression and violence, while every man's home was by force of circumstances obliged to be also his fortress.

In 1618 the original charter of the lands of Cairngall was confirmed by the Earl of Mar as superior of the lands, and

¹ Lord Glamis was created Earl of Kinghorne in 1606. In 1677, his grandson obtained, by special charter, an addition to the title, which was in future to be that of Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne, retaining the precedence of the former honour of Earl of Kinghorne. The present holder of the title is fourteenth Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne.

² *Aberdeenshire Hornings*, vols. 14 and 15.

³ *Registers of the Privy Council*, vol. ix. p. 82.

⁴ *Aberdeen Sheriff Court Books*, vol. ii. p. 56.

this Charter of Confirmation, in which both John Arbuthnot and his father, James of Lentusche, are named, is in possession of Major Hutchison of Cairngall.

As has been stated, we do not know the name of John Arbuthnot's wife. She was certainly living in 1601, receiving the letters of horning directed against her husband at Cairngall in that year. In 1588 there is mention of a John Arbuthnot, brother-in-law to John Ramsay in Lawes, these two receiving in that year letters of remission from the King for the slaying of Thomas Air in Ardowny.¹ This may be some other person, but as there were Ramsays living close to Legasland, and John Arbuthnot of Cairngall was "of Legasland" at the commencement of his career, it is possible that he may have married a Ramsay.²

The date of John Arbuthnot's death is unknown.

John Arbuthnot, first Laird of Cairngall, had at least two sons and one daughter—

- I. John, second Laird of Cairngall, of whom presently.
- II. Alexander.³

I. Margaret, who married first Patrick Johnston in Haltown of Belhelvie (murdered in 1601 by Lord Glamis), by whom she had eight children ; secondly (9th July, 1603) Alexander Cheyne, a cadet of the ancient family of Cheyne of Essilmont,⁴ by whom she had no issue ; and thirdly, probably in 1605, John Gordon of Chapeltown of Essilmont, and of Sheills, by whom it seems certain that she was the mother of Beatrix Gordon, born 1606, who afterwards married Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill, and was grandmother of Doctor John Arbuthnot.

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, vol. v. No. 1509.

² The will of Gilbert Ramsay in Legasland is recorded in 1608, he having died in 1597. It, however, yields no information. His name is found elsewhere in connection with that of John Arbuthnot of Cairngall, for it appears that in 1590 John Arbuthnot was surety for William Leslie of Dyce and Gilbert Ramsay "of Leggisland," that they would not harm George Lundy, apparent of Gorthie.—*Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland*, iv. p. 535.

³ This Alexander appears to have been "in Cairngall," and to have had two natural sons baptized in 1630.—*Longside Parish Registers*.

⁴ He was son of William Cheyne of Arnage, and grandson of John Cheyne of Fortree, nephew to Sir Patrick Cheyne of Essilmont.

This daughter, Margaret, we now propose to treat at some length, for much genealogical interest attaches to her third marriage, while the circumstances connected with the murder of her first husband have come down to us in extraordinary detail. We will take first the genealogical points. If the reader will turn to the illustrated birthbrief facing p. 162, in which is depicted the descent of Robert Arbuthnot of Rouen, brother of Doctor Arbuthnot, and will follow the paternal line back to Robert Arbuthnot's grandfather, he will notice that the latter married a Gordon, daughter of "Gordon of Shoils, a son of Letterfury, 2nd or 3rd son of the Earl of Huntly," by his wife, "dau to Arbuthnot of Cairngall." Though the names are given as "—— Arbuthnot" and "—— Gordon," we know from other sources that the grandparents of Dr. John Arbuthnot were Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill and Beatrix Gordon.¹

The attempt to follow up the traces of John Gordon of Sheills, third husband of Margaret Arbuthnot, and father of Beatrix Gordon, has occasioned many hours of research and much reflection. The facts that have come to light in the course of the inquiry are, roughly, as follows :

On Margaret Arbuthnot's second marriage in 1603 to Alexander Cheyne, the mill and mill lands of Essilmont were settled upon her in liferent, and were doubtless occupied by her during her second widowhood and after her third marriage. By Alexander Cheyne she apparently had no children, for his sisters, Isobel and Marjorie (married respectively to John Bruce of Meikle Mill of Essilmont and James Johnston in Isaacstown) were served and retoured heirs to Alexander

¹ See Forbes' *Life of Dr. Beattie*, Aitken's *Life of Dr. John Arbuthnot*, etc. There is a tablet to the memory of Robert Arbuthnot and Beatrix Gordon in old St. Fergus Churchyard, near Peterhead. In Buchan's *Peterhead* (1819) and in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland* it is stated that the tablet bears the arms of Arbuthnot quartered with Gordon, and other authorities also speak of a quartered coat. The stone is too much worn away with time to help us in any way, which is much to be regretted, as the arrangement of coats of arms is often a material help in throwing light upon a pedigree. Some photographs of the stone have been submitted to a correspondent much interested in heraldry, and, after a careful examination with a magnifying-glass, he has given a definite opinion that the stone once bore the Arbuthnot arms with some other arms on an inescutcheon of pretence. This is the arrangement we should expect to find, since the arms are clearly not impaled, and could not correctly be quartered. For some further remarks on this subject see p. 149.

Cheyne, who left to Margaret Arbuthnot a liferent of two-thirds of the town and lands of Gray's Fortree and part of the Meikle Mill of Essilmont. In the year 1614 there was a controversy between Margaret and her two sisters-in-law and their husbands, John Bruce claiming that certain sums were owing to him as creditor of Alexander Cheyne, while Margaret counter-claimed the liferent charged upon the land which had now passed to him. Both sisters further complained that Margaret had failed to produce 2,000 merks of tocher on the occasion of her marriage with their brother. The issue of these proceedings does not appear.¹

In this same year there was an Act of Curatory for the children of Margaret Arbuthnot by her first husband, Patrick Johnston, and among the next-of-kin called were John Arbuthnot of Cairngall and Norman Arbuthnot, his brother. John Gordon "of Chapeltown" is mentioned in connection with it, the minors choosing him to act for them.²

It would seem that as during Margaret's lifetime her third husband, John Gordon, was consistently described as "in Chapeltown of Essilmont," the interest in that estate was undoubtedly hers. We can probably assume that she was dead by 1625, when William Bruce, son of John Bruce of Gray's Fortree (and nephew of her second husband, Alexander Cheyne) brought an action against "John Gordoun in Scheallis," the claim being for "the rent of the third part of the town and lands of Chapeltown."³ Henceforward John Gordon is always referred to as "of Sheills." In 1633 "John Gordon of Sheills" "compeired" in the presence of the Lords of Secret Council and became cautioner and surety for Thomas Gordon, brother of James Gordon of Letterfourie, "that the said Thomas sall ather depart furth of his Majesteis dominions" before "the last day of Aprile nixtocome," or else that he shall "resort to the parish kirk and hear sermoun and that he sall behave himself modestlie without giving of offence and scandall to the kirk," etc.⁴

¹ The above facts are all taken from the *Aberdeenshire Inhibitions and Hornings*, vol. 17.

² *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeen*, vol. ii, p. 69.

³ See *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeen*, edited by David Littlejohn, vol. ii, p. 283.

⁴ *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. v., 2nd Series, p. 24.

On 26th March, 1635, George Marquis of Huntly and others, including James Gordon of Letterfourie, subscribed a bond undertaking that James Crichton of Fendraught, "his wife, barnes, men, tennents and servants sall be harmlesse and scaithlesse in their bodeis, persons, lands," etc. Among the witnesses is *John Gordon of Sheills*.¹

In 1643 John Gordon of Sheills was the husband of "Magdalen Straquhan, widow of William Wood of Colpnay."² In 1648 he was witness to a birthbrief granted to prove the descent of Adam Gordon, "principall and professor of the Greik Tongue in the colledge of Mell in France."³

Concerning the murder of Patrick Johnston, which took place on the 6th September, 1601, a considerable amount of detail has been recorded, although the causes of the tragedy are perhaps not altogether clear. From entries in the *Privy Council Registers* it appears that during the year 1600 Lord Glamis had cause of complaint against Patrick Johnston, his tenant and retainer, who, by a reckless act, had come near embroiling him with his hereditary foes the Lindsays—the ancient feud between the two families of Lyon and Lindsay having been but recently (and, of course, only superficially) suspended.

In this curious and rather obscure affair Lord Glamis appears in the surprising character of avenger of one of the Lindsays, who had suffered an outrage at the hands of one of his followers.

In a complaint drawn up by the victim, Sir John Lindsay, we read as follows: "On a Sunday in January, 1600, while going to church, he had accidentally met on the high street of Edinburgh Patrik Lord Glamis. For the reverence they bore to his Majesty and for observing the assurance between them, they passed by one another without provocation by word or countenance, the pursuer thus looking for no further trouble to have fallen out. But, after they had passed, Patrik Johnston, in . . . who was in the said Lord's company, 'drew his sword, invadit and persewit the said complainer of his lyfe, and strak and cuttit throw the schoulder of his

¹ *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 2nd Series, vol. v., pp. 528-9.

² *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. p. 508.

³ *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. v. pp. 332-3.

On 27th January, 1601, Lord Glamis found caution in the sum of 3,000 merks not to harm "Johne Arbuthnot of Carnegall and Patrick Johnnstoun in Haltoun."¹

On 16th February, 1601, "John Arbuthnot of Carngalt and Patrick Johnnestoun in Haltoun," found caution not to harm a number of persons, among whom are several of the name of Lyon, and, strange to say, "Henry Arbuthnot." In February and March they were still at the horn,² doubtless in connection with this affair.

Although, as we have seen, Lord Glamis had received considerable provocation from his vassal, yet the extreme rage that drove him to take the life of Patrick Johnston in cold blood a short time later is difficult to understand. Taking into consideration the ideas of the time, Patrick Johnston had erred from an excess of zeal which his over-lord, of all people, might be supposed to regard with a lenient eye. The outrage had not ended fatally, and Lord Glamis had certainly no love for the Lindsays, for a few years later he preferred to go abroad rather than submit the hereditary feud to arbitration or to take legitimate legal steps against the Earl of Crawford for the murder (accidental, as the Lindsays claimed) of Lord Glamis's father. Doubtless we have only half the story before us. All that we know for certain is that on Sunday, 6th September, 1601, Patrick Johnston, with his wife, Margaret Arbuthnot, and his "twa young bairnes," were present in the church of Belhelvie at a baptismal service—perhaps for one of their own children. Lord Glamis must have had notice that Johnston was to be present and unprotected on this occasion, for during the service he and five friends (two of them members of the Lyon family) surrounded the church.

Possibly some unusual sounds caused the doomed man to start up and hasten out of the church before the service was over, for we learn from the minister's subsequent deposition before the Presbytery of Aberdeen, that at the moment of the attack he was "not cum furtht of the pulpit in the actione of baptisme." The minister also testified "that he was compellit to desist fra the actione of baptisme and to

¹ *Registers of the Privy Council*, vol. vi. p. 675.

² *Ibid.*, vol. vi. pp. 677-8.

cum furtht to the kirke yarde to sie gif he suld stay the truble."

Thomas Skeyne, "kirk officear" of Belhelvie, also gave his evidence before the Presbytery, and, being examined as to whether Lord Glamis was the first to draw the sword—a point of some importance—"deponis he saw the said Patrik Lord Glammis drew the first suerde, and than beand furcht of the kirke yard, he and his complices came within the same againe, and persewit the said umquhill Patrick within the said kirke yard, distant fra the said kirke dur twa space or thairby."

Patrick Johnston was unarmed, and his murderous assailants made but short work of him, flying precipitately as soon as the deed was accomplished. Both the minister and Thomas Skeyne deposed that "they saw na man with Patrik Johnstonn that day to assist or to resist the invasioun, bot his wyff and twa young bairnes of young yeiris, within 9 yeiris auld the eldest," etc.

In the subsequent complaint to the Kirk, John Johnston of that Ilk appeared on behalf of "Margaret Arbuthnot, relicque of umquhill Patrik Johnstoun, in the Haltoun of Balhelvies, and the said umquhill Patrik's aucht fayerless bairnes"—showing that Margaret was at that time the mother of eight children.

Lord Glamis having, with notable celerity, obtained a pardon from the King for this outrage (letters of remission being dated at Falkland 15th September, 1601, exactly nine days after the event), he may perhaps have anticipated that the incident would be consigned to wholesome oblivion. But the outrage had been committed on holy ground, and the Kirk, whose independence is characteristic, considered itself gravely offended. Ignoring the Royal pardon, it continued, during that and the following year, to press for "satisfaction"—which we are hardly surprised to find was not forthcoming. The replies received from Lord Glamis were of an evasive and unsatisfactory character, and the Kirk finally proceeded to its last resource—that of excommunicating the young chieftain—a punishment that perhaps did not weigh very heavily on his not too sensitive soul.¹

¹ See *Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen*, edited by E. J. Stuart, for the details of this affair.

John Arbuthnot, second Laird of Cairngall, of whom our knowledge is very vague and shadowy, is first mentioned in 1590, when, as we have seen, he got the escheat of his father and grandfather, they being at the horn. In 1609, still during his father's lifetime, he seems to have been in occupation of the lands of Portertown, for on 6th May, that year, "John Arbuthnot, lawful son of John Arbuthnot of Carnegaw," brought an action against Grizel Leslie for "spoliation in 1607 and 1608 from his town and lands of Portertown, of goods, cattle, money, writs," etc.¹

In 1613 "John Arbuthnot, younger," brings an action against Thomas Body in Peterhead, for "spoliation of victual from the lands of Cairngall,"² suggesting that he had an interest in those lands also during his father's lifetime.

In April, 1637, John Arbuthnot and his eldest son John were involved as cautioners in some legal affair, and the town and lands of Old and New Cairngall, with Auchitteries, Mill of Cairngall and other lands, were apprised from the former for debt by Sir William Dick of Braid, merchant-burgess of Edinburgh. The lands were recovered by his son in 1655, they having by that time come into the possession of John Forbes of Largy, and in the latter year the elder John is spoken of as "the deceased John Arbuthnot of Cairngall." He was certainly dead before 1654.

In 1641 Longside was erected into a separate parish. We find John Arbuthnot mentioned as a landowner in the parish that year. Another is Alexander Forbes of Boynlee.

In 1647 John Arbuthnot disposed some lands to his daughter, Elizabeth, as we shall see.

John Arbuthnot married Margaret, daughter of Alexander Forbes of Boynlee, a grandson of Alexander Forbes, sixth Laird of Pitsligo (she was living and his widow in 1654),³ and as we have now reached a point where the parish registers

¹ *Aberdeenshire Hornings*, vols. 14, 15.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 16. A witness was Thomas Arbuthnot in Peterhead.

³ See Macfarlane's *Genealogies* and Lumsden's *House of Forbes*. Her Christian name is mentioned in some MS. Tables of Contents of the Registers of Deeds and Probative Writs, notes from which were kindly sent me by Mr. David Littlejohn.

begin to help us, we can give the dates of birth of several of his children. These were, so far as we know—

- I. John, his heir, third Laird of Cairngall, baptized at Longside, 9th July, 1622. Of him presently.
- I. Margaret, baptized at Longside, 21st November, 1623 (on this occasion her father was described as "junior of Cairngall," showing that the first Laird was still alive).
- II. Agnes,¹ who married in October, 1647,² Duncan Forbes, minister of Pitsligo, second son of John Forbes of Byth—a cadet line of the Forbes' of Brux. Her name is mentioned twenty years later (1667) in the *Great Seal Registers* on the occasion of the transfer of some land by the Forbes' of Byth to Sir John Baird of Newbythe.³ Her grandson, William Forbes, afterwards succeeded to Cairngall on the death of his cousin, Alexander Arbuthnot, in 1748,⁴ and from him descended a line of Forbes' of Cairngall, who possessed the property until 1803, when it passed by purchase to the Hutchisons of Cairngall, who still own it.
- III. Elizabeth, married first (in 1647) Alexander Martine, son of Mr. James Martine, minister of Peterhead, and evidently her cousin (for his father had married Isobel Arbuthnot, unidentified).⁵

On the occasion of this marriage, the lands of Easter Auchitteries in the parish of Longside were disposed to Elizabeth and Alexander, under reversion for 3,000 merks. On Alexander's death, his interest in this property passed to his brother Nathaniel Martine, Minister at Peterhead, and Elizabeth having, either in or before 1660, married, secondly,

¹ See Macfarlane's *Genealogies* and Lumsden's *House of Forbes* for her marriage. Her name is not found in the parish registers.

² *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, by Hew Scott, vol. iii., Pt. 2, p. 590.

³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, xi. No. 1001.

⁴ *Services of Heirs in Scotland*. "William Forbes in Rigends of Kinminity to his cousin, Alexander Arbuthnot of Cairngall, Heir-General, dated 13th September, 1748."

⁵ This Isobel may possibly have been a sister of Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill. See p. 148 note.

George Forbes of Aberdour,¹ Nathaniel disposed these lands to her and her second husband in the latter year. In 1664 Elizabeth and her husband renounced their title to these lands in favour of her brother John, who redeemed them for the stipulated 3,000 merks.²

IV. Christian, baptized at Longside, 24th February, 1628, was in 1657 the "promised spouse of Mr. John Stewart, minister of Crimond, son of Walter Stewart of Bogtoun."

V. Nicola, whose name has not been found in the parish registers, but who married in 1652 Thomas Forbes of Todla and in Auchtidonald, brother of Duncan Forbes of Pitsligo, above-mentioned.³

It will be noticed that the Arbuthnots of Cairngall frequently intermarried with the family of Forbes.

John, second Laird of Cairngall, died before 1654, as we have seen. He was succeeded by his son—

John Arbuthnot, third Laird of Cairngall, who was baptized on 9th July, 1622, at the parish church of Longside.

On 8th October, 1657, there was registration of sasine to him of "the town and lands of Old and New Carn gall, Auchitteries, mill of Cairngall," etc., by John Forbes of Largy, these lands having been apprised from his father for debt by Sir William Dick of Braid, "merchant burges of Edinburgh," in 1637.⁴

In 1663 he got sasine of the "town and lands of Cairngall and mill thereof, fishings on the water of Ugie," etc., on a precept of Clare Constat by John Earl of Mar to him, as "heir to the deceased John Arbuthnot of Cairngall, his father, called younger, who was son of the deceased John Arbuthnot of Cairngall," which precept is dated 6th May, 1662.⁵ We have seen that in 1664 he redeemed the lands of Auchitteries, disposed to his sister Elizabeth on her first marriage. Of

¹ See Lumsden's *House of Forbes*, where Elizabeth is spoken of as "Isobel."
² *Aberdeenshire Sasines*, vol. iii.

³ See Macfarlane's *Genealogies* and Lumsden's *House of Forbes*. Her Christian name and the date of marriage have been obtained from an entry in an old Bible in the possession of Miss Margaret Forbes, of Merchant Street, Peterhead.

⁴ *Aberdeenshire Sasines*, vol. xix.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii.

him John Moir remarks that he was "a truly respectable man, possessing all those virtues which have so long adorned the name of Arbuthnot."

John Arbuthnot married first, before 1664, Catherine Urquhart, of whom nothing is known beyond the fact that she was his wife in that year, and is mentioned in the deed of redemption of the lands of Auchitteries. He married secondly Anna Farquharson, daughter of Alexander Farquharson of Finzean, the marriage contract being dated 29th November, 1669.

By his first wife he had a son—

- I. John, baptized at Longside, 10th May, 1664; must have died young.

By his second wife he had six sons, as follows:

- II. Alexander, fourth and last Laird of Cairngall, baptized at Longside, 4th October, 1670.
- III. John, second of the name, baptized at Longside, 17th October, 1672; died young.
- IV. George, baptized at Longside, 30th December, 1673.
- V. Francis, baptized at Longside, 24th February, 1675.
- VI. John, third of the name, baptized at Longside, 3rd May, 1686; buried there, 3rd January, 1701, aged 15.
- VII. Thomas (posthumous), baptized at Longside, 23rd May, 1687.

John, third Laird of Cairngall, died before 23rd May, 1687, and was succeeded by his eldest son—

Alexander Arbuthnot, fourth Laird of Cairngall, baptized at Longside, 4th October, 1670. In 1687 there was an act of curatory for Alexander Arbuthnot, on which occasion Robert, third Viscount Arbuthnott, the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot (father of Dr. John Arbuthnot), and John Arbuthnot in Rora were called as next-of-kin on the father's side. This is curious, seeming to imply the extinction of all the descendants of John Arbuthnot of Portertown with the exception of the line of Cairngall, otherwise there would not have been recourse to so distant a relative as the third Viscount, whose presumed relationship to the Cairngall line is shown in the pedigree at the end of

this volume. The next-of-kin on the mother's side were Francis Farquharson of Finzean, Donald Farquharson of Balfour, and Charles Gordon of Blelack. Francis Farquharson of Finzean was Alexander Arbuthnot's maternal uncle, as was also Donald Farquharson of Balfour. The former had married Marjorie Arbuthnot of the Findowrie line (see p. 54). It appears that during the minority of the young Laird of Cairngall, his estate was managed by some of the Farquharsons, for we find that some years later Alexander Arbuthnot of Cairngall brought an action against "Robert Farquharson of Finzean," as representing the deceased Alexander Farquharson of Finzean, described as "the complainer's factor," for some of the rents of Cairngall and other moneys due to him between 1709 and 1718.¹

In 1710 we find that Alexander Arbuthnot was carrying on a controversy against Thomas Robertson, schoolmaster at Longside, who "raised letters charging the said Alexander Arbuthnot to compear on a Sabbath day immediately after divine service and publicly acknowledge in presence of the congregation in the parish church of Longside his fault in slandering the said Thomas and his mother, and pay £100 Scots of damages to him, in terms of decret obtained against the said Alexander Arbuthnot before the Commissaries of Aberdeen on 16th March, 1710. . . . The Lords ordain the letters to take effect against the said Alexander Arbuthnot."²

Two days later we find the following: "Suspension craved by Alexander Arbuthnot of Cairngall against Mr. Thomas Robertson, schoolmaster at Longside, who charged him to pay 10/- Scots as the price of each peck of meal, with 6/- sterling as the price of a book entitled *The Tale of a Tub*, in terms of decret by the Commissaries of Aberdeen on 23rd February, 1710. The victual is for the schoolmaster's salary out of the lands of Cairngall. The Lords ordain payment to be made, as also the price of the book, or the book to be restored to the schoolmaster, whose property it really was."

Moir writes: "This Alexander, laird of Cairngall, is the only person on record of the name of Arbuthnot who em-

¹ *Aberdeenshire Hornings*, vol. 70.

² *Acts and Decrets*, Mackenzie, vol. 181.

³ *Ibid.*

braced the religious principles of Calvin, and his zeal in the cause of the Kirk was evinced on the following occasion. It is not perhaps generally known that the Presbyterian principles were most reluctantly adopted by a great majority of parishes in Aberdeenshire, and that not a few of the Episcopalian incumbents continued in the possession of the parochial church long after the Revolution. In many instances, indeed, the Presbyterian candidate took possession of his charge at the point of the bayonet—thus proving himself to be a member of the *church-militant* here on earth.

“Mr. Lumsden, the first Presbyterian clergyman of Longside, when about to take possession of his Kirk, dreading the opposition of his parishioners, requested Mr. Arbuthnot to accompany him on the day of his proposed admission. They set out, but, on arriving at the burn or rivulet of Cairngall, they were opposed by a numerous concourse of both male and female warriors. The valiant squire, undismayed, drew his rapier, and seemed determined to cut his way through the hostile band:—but alas! he little dreamed of the fate that awaited him. An heroic amazon, yclept Anne Dalgarno, stripping off her tartan plaid, swung it around her head and instantaneously entangled the deadly weapon of the zealous laird, whom she at the same moment tossed into the stream. Mess. John saved himself by ignoble flight, leaving his friend to extricate himself as he best could from his perilous situation.

“Mr. Lumsden was afterwards accompanied to his Kirk by a troop of dragoons! . . .

“The death of Alexander Arbuthnot was attended by circumstances somewhat singular.

“Mr. Arbuthnot, some time in the year 1748, dismissed his servants, locked the doors of his dwelling-house and meal-girnils or granaries, then full of his farm-meal, packed up his most valuable articles of plate in a wallet, and, without communicating to any person his strange resolution, set out on foot for Edinburgh, carrying his wallet on his back. Upon his arrival at Queensferry, exhausted both in body and mind, denying himself even the necessaries of life, he fell a victim either to mental derangement or to a strange species of the most sordid avarice.”

On the death of Alexander Arbuthnot, who never married, his cousin, William Forbes of Rigend of Kinminity (? Kinmundy), was served his heir, service being dated 13th September, 1748.¹ William Forbes, who, according to entries in an old Bible long in the Forbes family, was son of Duncan Forbes, minister of Aikenway,² and grandson of Duncan Forbes, minister of Pitsligo, and Agnes Arbuthnot, married in 1752 Isabella, daughter of Alexander Forsyth "in Keith," and had issue six sons. The fourth of these, Duncan Forbes, who became Laird of Cairngall after the death of his brothers, was born in 1765, and sold Cairngall in 1803 to Mr. John Hutchison of Peterhead, "a respectable and enterprising merchant of that place," writes John Moir, "whose judicious improvements will render Cairngall an ornament to that part of the country." In the year that Cairngall was sold, Duncan Forbes married Janet, daughter of John Smith, schoolmaster in Peterhead, and had issue a son, Keith Forbes, born in 1804. The latter married Margaret Anderson, daughter of John Anderson, and had a son, Duncan Forbes (who died in 1861), and several daughters, the youngest of whom, Miss Margaret Forbes, the last lineal descendant of the Forbes' of Cairngall and representing through them the older line of

¹ John Moir states that "the estate fell to Mr. William Forbes, in right of his mother, sister to the above Alexander," and some entries in an old Bible belonging to Miss Margaret Forbes, now residing at Peterhead, also state that Alexander Arbuthnot was succeeded by a *nephew*, and that two Duncan Forbes', father and son, successively married Arbuthnots of Cairngall. Duncan Forbes, minister of Pitsligo, and Agnes Arbuthnot certainly had a son, Duncan, who was minister of Aikenway, but no corroboration of the latter's marriage with an Arbuthnot has been found, while the *Services of Heirs* state that Alexander Arbuthnot of Cairngall was succeeded by his *cousin*, William Forbes, who would have been both nephew and cousin, if John Moir and the old Bible are correct. A curious circumstance is that in March, 1753, the testament dative of Alexander Arbuthnot of Cairngall was given up by "Janet Forbes, lawful daughter of the deceased George Forbes, merchant in Aberdeen, and grandchild of Agnes Arbuthnot, lawful daughter of the deceased . . . Arbuthnot of Cairngall, who was sister to . . . Arbuthnot of Cairngall, father of the said Alexander Arbuthnot, and which Janet is nearest of kin to the defunct," etc. The inheritance of Janet Forbes consisted of £106 13s. 4d., being a debt due from William Grant, tenant of the Mains of Cairngall. The Cairngall estate, meanwhile, passed to her cousin, William Forbes—an arrangement which the intricacies of Scottish law may perhaps explain.

² Though we may notice that "William Forbes in Rigends of Kinminity" was served heir in 1751 to his father, *William Forbes*, there, and it is possible that a generation may intervene here.

Arbuthnot of Cairngall, is at the time of writing still living in Peterhead, and has been kind enough to take an interest in the projected publication of this record of her ancestors, and to supply the author with many of the above facts, extracted from the old Bible referred to.

PART III

THE ARBUTHNOTS OF ABERDEENSHIRE,
SECOND BRANCH :

THE DESCENDANTS OF ROBERT ARBUTHNOT OF
RORA — DR. JOHN ARBUTHNOT — THE RIGHT
HON. CHARLES ARBUTHNOT.

THE ARBUTHNOTS OF ABERDEENSHIRE, SECOND BRANCH :

THE DESCENDANTS OF ROBERT ARBUTHNOT OF RORA—
DR. JOHN ARBUTHNOT—THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES
ARBUTHNOT.

IT is in the parish of Longside that we must search for the first traces of the Arbuthnots of Buchan, generations of whom lived there under the protection of the great dominant family of Keith, the senior line of which held the hereditary office of Great Marischal of Scotland. The Keiths of Inverugie and Ravenscraig were originally younger branches of this family, their respective lands having come to them through intermarriage with the ancient family of Cheyne. About 1538, a Keith heiress married her cousin of the senior line, and thus the Earls Marischal obtained possession of Inverugie, which became, with Dunnottar, one of the principal seats of the family. It has been suggested that the ancient Inverugie stood at some distance from the present ruins, close to the sea, and at the mouth of the Ugie, where there are traces of some old foundations, and that it was against this vanished castle that Thomas of Ercildoune, known as "The Rhymer," pronounced a tragic doom, in the well-known words :

Ugie, Ugie, by the sea,
Lordless shall your lands be.
And underneath your hearth stane,
The Tod shall bring her bairns hame.

It has, however, been pointed out that at the time when Thomas of Ercildoune flourished (c. 1220-1297) it is rather more than doubtful whether the Keiths had yet settled in Buchan. A further prophecy is said to have been pronounced by him with reference to this family. Seating himself on a

stone in one of the fields near Inverugie, he uttered the following prediction :

As lang's this stane stands on the craft,
The name o' Keith shall be alaft.
But when it begins to fa',
The name o' Keith shall wear awa'.¹

For centuries the great house of Keith seemed to defy these sinister predictions, and increased in importance and splendour, down to the time of George, fifth Earl Marischal, who made so magnificent an appearance at the Danish Court, when he went to escort the Princess Anne to Scotland, to be married to James VI. This fifth Earl is credited with having called down a curse upon his family, by his action in plundering the old Abbey of Deer, whose lands and temporalities were annexed by him. It was he who—irritated by the bitter resentment this lawless act called forth—adopted the proud and defiant motto of the Keiths, which is inscribed in quaint old letters over a doorway in Marischal College, Aberdeen :

Thay say.
Quhat say they ?
Thay haif sayd.
Lat thame say.

Whether the superstitious are right or wrong in attributing the misfortunes of the Keiths to this ancient act of spoliation, it is certain that from the time of the fifth Earl downwards the fortunes of the family were on the ebb. Ever afterwards the Keiths were to be found on the losing side.

William, sixth Earl Marischal, supported the Covenanters, and had the mortification of seeing his estates ravaged and laid waste by the Royalist army under Montrose. A little later he deserted the Covenanters, and, at a most inauspicious moment, threw in his lot with the King's party, subsequently spending nine years in prison in England. The ruin of the family was completed in the time of the tenth Earl Marischal, who took part in the disastrous rising of 1715, after which

¹ This is said to have been fulfilled when the stone was removed in 1763, and built into the new church of St. Fergus. At that time the family of Keith had forfeited all its possessions through its loyalty to the Stuart cause. The field still bears the name of "Tammas' Stane."

the historic honours of his house were attained and his estates forfeited to the Crown, he himself leading the life of a wanderer on the continent. His mother, the Dowager Countess, was allowed to live on at Inverugie till her death, after which the neglected castle fell into utter decay and became the prey of bands of thieves, who looted it of all its treasures. It was this lady who composed the mournful Jacobite ballad, which runs as follows :

My father was a guid Lord's son,
My mither was an Earl's daughter,
And I'll be Lady Keith again,
The day our King comes o'er the water.

But that King never did come over the water again, and the proud old lady died with her hopes unfulfilled. An old servant, venturing to commiserate with her on the sad fact of her sons having involved themselves in the ruin of the Stuart cause, she started to her feet and answered wrathfully that "if they had not done as they did, she would have gone out herself with her spindle and rock."¹

The attainder against the Keiths was reversed in 1759, through the intercession of Frederick the Great, and in 1764 the last Earl Marischal, then an old man, paid a visit to the ruins of Inverugie, the sight of which so affected him that he burst into tears and refused to approach them.²

It is hoped that this brief sketch of the Keith family will not be found irrelevant, for it was on their estates that the Arbuthnots were tenants during many generations, while the office of factor to the Earl Marischal seems to have become almost an hereditary one among members of the Arbuthnot family.

It has been seen that John Moir derives the descent of the Aberdeenshire Arbuthnots from Robert Arbuthnot of

¹ "Rock," i.e. distaff.

² This incident is touchingly described in Mr. Tocher's *Book of Buchan*, p. 310. The Earl Marischal's younger brother, James Keith, became the celebrated Field-Marshal of Frederick the Great. After a distinguished career abroad, he was killed at the Battle of Hochkirch in 1758, when gallantly charging the enemy at the head of his troops. Thus he fell, honourably fighting, like so many of his exiled compatriots, in a cause other than that of his native land. "Keith sleeps . . . far from bonnie Inverugie," wrote Carlyle in oft-quoted words, "the hoarse sea winds and caverns of Dunnottar singing vague requiem to his honourable line and name."

Rora, one of three brothers—John, Robert, and Alexander—whom tradition states to have migrated from Kincardineshire to Aberdeenshire about the year 1560. "Robert, the second of the above three brothers," he writes, "settled with his younger brother (i.e. Alexander) at Rora, in the same parish of Longside, and left a son," etc.

We have already noted that this view of the family descent is not quite correct in one or two points. For instance, John Arbuthnot of Cairngall and his brothers were not the first members of their family to settle in Aberdeenshire; the date 1560 is also rather an early one for their generation, though it may very possibly be the correct date of the arrival of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche in Aberdeenshire.

The researches undertaken in the course of preparing this book have established that three brothers, almost certainly sons of John Arbuthnot of Portertown and Legasland, certainly came to Aberdeenshire somewhere about the time specified, their names being James, afterwards of Lentusche, Robert (? of Rora), and David of Long Seat.¹

Was Robert, brother of Lentusche, identical with Robert of Rora, who got the former's escheat in 1587, and figures in all the MS. genealogies preserved in the Arbuthnot family, and from whom nearly all the diverging branches claim their descent?² Or was he *son* of Lentusche—whom we do not otherwise know to have had a son Robert—and therefore, as Moir asserts, brother and not uncle to John, first Laird of Cairngall? Although no absolute proof is forthcoming, I have, on the advice of the Rev. William Arbuthnot and Mr. Henry Paton, preferred the former view, and shall proceed with the pedigree on those lines.

From Robert of Rora downwards, we may perhaps assume that Moir is likely to be correct. He claims that his information was handed down through various members of the family from Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill, who is stated to have been grandson to Robert of Rora, and would be likely to be

¹ Probably also Alexander, afterwards printer in Edinburgh, who had connections with Aberdeen, and is believed to have been a son of John Arbuthnot of Portertown.

² We must except the line which descended from Alexander Arbuthnot of Rora, which will be dealt with in its turn. To this branch the Abbot of Ratisbon belonged. It is now extinct in the male line.

correct as to his own immediate descent. We shall now proceed to trace out the line of Rora, placing Robert Arbuthnot, brother of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, in the place we have assigned him as its progenitor.

The first mention of Robert Arbuthnot, brother of James of Lentusche, is in 1566-7, when James and his wife Christian Collace acquired some inner land in the close of a tenement in the Castlegate, Aberdeen, resigned in their favour by Mr. Thomas Menzies of Dorn.¹ Many years later, as we have seen, Thomas Menzies redeemed this tenement of land in the Castlegate from "William Arbuthnot, son of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche." On the present occasion, "Robert Arbuthnot, brother-german of the said James Arbuthnot," acted as "procurator" for Christian Collace.

On 29th September, 1573, "Robert Arbuthnot, father's brother and tutor to Thomas Arbuthnot, lawful son of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche," was called to see "consignation made of an angel noble for redemption from the said Thomas of a croft on the west side of the Crofts of Aberdeen," etc.

On 15th August, 1587, we find the following entry in the *Register of the Privy Seal*, vol. 56: "Gift to Robert Arbuthnot in Rora and his heirs and assignees of the escheat of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, who is at the horn for not payment to William Fraser in Bogheids of £80 Scots," etc.

Robert Arbuthnot in Rora had certainly a son Thomas, living in 1606, in which year we find mention of a "Bond by James Dowgall in Cairngall with John Arbuthnot of Cairngall and John Sym there as cautioners, to Thomas Arbuthnot, lawful son of Robert Arbuthnot in Rorey, for £86 13s. 4d. Scots. Dated at Cairngall, 22nd December, 1606; witnesses, Alexander Arbuthnot in Rorey and John Robertson in Cairngall."*

¹ *Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines*. This Thomas Menzies was brother to Gilbert Menzies of Pitfoddels, Provost of Aberdeen. Mr. John Davidson tells us that "about the beginning of the century, the Pitfoddels family had a mansion in the burgh, which habitation, built of wood and situated in the Castlegate, was in 1529 accidentally burnt down, and, within a year thereafter, a house on the same site was built in stone, and continued probably much in its original state until removed about 1800, when the site of 'Pitfoddels Lodging' was disposed of, and the house then built thereon at the top of Marischal Street, is now occupied by the Union Bank of Scotland." See *Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch*, by John Davidson, p. 457; David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1878.

* *Register of Deeds*, vol. 153, fol. 117.

Robert Arbuthnot had also, according to John Moir, a son named John, who became Notary Public at Peterhead, being entered Notary in the year 1598. Moir writes: "A book containing notarial copies written by this man was long preserved in the family of John Moir at Kirktown of Longside, and is now (i.e. 1815) in the possession of John Moir, printer, Edinburgh." All efforts to trace this volume, which is believed to have contained a written statement that the Notary was son of Robert Arbuthnot of Rora, have failed. It was believed that it might have been among the effects of Miss Mary Moir, last surviving child of John Moir, who died in 1900, but Mr. Arthur Giles, her cousin, who inherited all her effects, informs me that he has never seen the book and knows nothing as to its whereabouts. He assures me that it was certainly not among Miss Moir's books, which are now in his possession.¹

In 1601 the Notary was witness to the execution of letters of horning raised against John Arbuthnot of Cairngall by Patrick Lord Glamis, for wrongful occupation of lands in Belhelvie.²

In 1604 he was witness to a Charter granted to John Gordon of Boigs, who sold some land to George, Earl Marischal. This was signed at Inverugie, 5th July, 1604.³

In 1605 "John Arbuthnot, Notary," wrote a bond which was signed at "Brodland," 26th July, whereby sundry persons found caution not to harm "Andro Watson in Haddo of Rattray." The following day, at Deer, he subscribed for Alexander Rires in a similar bond for the protection of Andrew Watson.⁴

¹ Some MS. notes on the family left by Miss Grace Park, daughter of Captain James Park and Grizel Arbuthnot, which are among the papers at Arbuthnot House, Peterhead, contain the following statement: "There is a Charter granted by King James VI of Scotland, dated 1598, creating John Arbuthnot, son of Robert Arbuthnot in Rora, Notary Public, in which capacity he officiated near Peterhead," etc. With regard to the book above mentioned, Miss Park writes: "There is in the possession of John Moir at Kirktown a MS. in which are inserted several copies of services executed by John Arbuthnot, son of Robert Arbuthnot in Rora, at the beginning of which there is a copy of the warrant for executing the office of Notary Public, signed by James VI at Holyrood, in the year 1598."

² *Aberdeenshire Hornings*, vol. 10.

³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, vol. vii. No. 21. This charter was confirmed 15th February, 1609.

⁴ *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. vii, pp. 610-611.

On 17th January, 1606, John Arbuthnot, Notary Public, "at the Burn of Auchlee," wrote a bond subscribed by John Arbuthnot in Rora, John Nicholson and John Scott, to Arthur Dalgarno in Fortree, for 100 merks.¹

The Notary was alive in 1615, when he drew up a sasine, but is mentioned as "Notary, the late John Arbuthnot," in 1617.² John Arbuthnot, Notary Public, married Miss Stevenson, daughter and apparently heiress of Stevenson of Inglismill (or Englishmill), near Inverugie. They had issue at least one son,³ Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill and of Inglismill, near Inverugie, who was born in 1610.⁴

In 1643 Robert Arbuthnot "at Inglismilne" gave sasine as bailie to Andrew Arbuthnot, "brother-german to Robert, Viscount of Arbuthnot,"⁵ of lands in Longside (then part of the parish of Peterugie), namely, "the town and lands of Tortarstoun, with the mill thereof called the Scotismylne, and the hill called Ravenscraig, with the pertinents, lying in the parish of Peterugie," etc. In that year Robert Arbuthnot was not yet of Scotsmill, for we read of a Bruce of Scotsmill, with whom "Robert Arbuthnot at Inglismilne," with "John Arbuthnot in Rora" and "David Arbuthnot at the Mill thereof," and others, committed an outrage upon William Craigheid in Buchlay, surrounding the house when he was "from home" and "without any lawful warrant ranne at the doores with double geists, brake up the same with the kists, coffers and almereis, and tooke furthe thair of their haill goods, geir, bands, evidents and writts, insicht, plenishing and what they were able to carrie away, brake all the timber work and other plenishing quhilk they left behind and left the doores open and so made all a prey to theeves and pyckers in the countrie, who came in thereafter and left nothing;

¹ This deed was not registered till 7th February, 1622. The identity of the "John Arbuthnot in Rora" mentioned in it is a complete mystery. It is stated that the Notary signed for the granters, "who could not write."—*Aberdeen Sheriff Court Deeds*.

² *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. p. 219. The case in which he is mentioned is one between the Master of Marischal and James Walker in Peterhead *v.* James Davidson in Auchlee.

³ In 1634 there is mention of a John Arbuthnot, "clerk of the diocese of Aberdeen," who may, perhaps, also have been a son of the Notary.

⁴ According to the inscription to himself and his wife in the churchyard of St. Fergus, near Peterhead.

⁵ This would be the first Viscount.

and thereby has altogether herryed the compleaners, who, having come to stop this lawlesse act, they patt violent hands in the compleaner's person, gave him divers straikes in his bodie and hes brought him to extreme povertie and miserie." The pursuer compearing, but not the defenders, the Lords, after hearing the evidence of witnesses, found that the defenders broke up the doors of the pursuer's house "with trees, and tooke furth the plenishing thaireof," and for this they ordained them to be charged to enter in ward within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh within fifteen days and there remain until order could be taken with them for this "insolence."

In 1649 there is registration of a bond by James Robertson of Dumhills (? Downiehills) to Robert Arbuthnot "at the Inglismilne."

In 1658 there is registration of sasine of Robert Arbuthnot "at the Englishmill of Inverugie," on a "disposition by Elspet Lendrum in Peterhead, selling to him her tenement of land in Peterhead, dated the said 23rd February."

In 1665 Robert Arbuthnot appears to have farmed Whitehill, on the Invernettie estate, for we find the following entry in vol. iii of the *Aberdeenshire Sasines*, that year, which almost certainly refers to him:

"1665, July 10, Registration of Sasine dated 15 June, of William Arbuthnot, lawful son of *Robert Arbuthnot in Whythill*, and Christian Hampton, his future spouse, daughter to John Hampton at the stone mill of Inverugie, in terms of their contract of marriage dated 1 June 1665, in part of William Dalgarno of Blackwater's Roods in Rattray, in the parish of Crimond, he being a party to the contract. John Arbuthnot in Rora is a witness thereto."

Robert Arbuthnot "at Scotsmylne" was witness at the baptism of his grand-daughter, Janet Arbuthnot, daughter

* *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland*, Second Series, vii. p. 386.

* *Aberdeen Sheriff Court Deeds*. The same day (November 22nd), James Robertson registered a bond to "Isobel Arbuthnot, widow of Mr. James Martein, minister at Peterhead," a witness being her son, Mr. Alexander Martine. The latter, as we have seen (p. 132), had married Elizabeth Arbuthnot, daughter of the second Laird of Cairngall. Possibly this Isobel, who cannot be identified, was a sister of Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill, or she may, of course, have belonged, like her daughter-in-law, to the Cairngall line.

† *Aberdeenshire Sasines*, vol. 20.

of his son Robert, at Peterhead Parish Church on 25th January, 1670.¹

On 25th February, 1672, William Robertson, "Chamberlain to old Robert Arbuthnot," is mentioned as one of the witnesses at the baptism of another grandchild, Mary Arbuthnot, also daughter of Robert Arbuthnot, junior.²

Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill died in 1682, having married Beatrix Gordon, daughter of John Gordon of Sheills,³ who must have been his cousin, for her mother was an Arbuthnot, as we have seen. They are buried in the old Churchyard of St. Fergus, near Peterhead, where a tablet to their memory bears the following inscription: "Here lye the bodies of Robert Arbuthnot and Beatrix Gordon, his spouse. He died aged 72 and she 76 years and both in the Year of our Lord MDCLXXXII." In Peter Buchan's *Annals of Peterhead*, and in several other old books on the neighbourhood, the stone is described and is stated to have borne the Arbuthnot arms *quartered* with those of Gordon. The shield is now so obliterated—although the stone is said to have been restored in the time of the first Sir William Arbuthnot, by his direction—that nothing can be gleaned from it. As, however, it is impossible for a man to quarter his wife's arms under any circumstances, the arms of Gordon would have been either impaled or charged in pretence—if the latter, then all Arbuthnots descending from this marriage would appear to have the right to quarter the arms of Gordon with the paternal coat. Oddly enough, the arms are surmounted by an angel's head, which is in a fair state of preservation.⁴

¹ *Peterhead Parish Registers*.

² *Ibid.*

³ See illustrated birthbrief facing p. 162. Her descent has already been fully discussed on p. 125.

⁴ In August, 1917, the writer, with Miss Violet Arbuthnot-Leslie, visited the old churchyard. It was a dull, rainy, windy day, and anything more desolate, treeless and windswept than the country we ran through cannot be imagined. Among the sand-dunes some miles north of Peterhead, well away from any human habitation, lies the old churchyard, close to the sea. Somehow it suggested a derelict vessel, floating aimlessly on the billowy sand-hills, with a strange, silent cargo, of absorbing interest to genealogists and antiquarians. In this lonely spot, Dr. Beattie said he would wish, above all others, to be buried. The old churchyard is not really derelict. It is very well kept and cared for, and is, even now, the only burial-place for the parish. The ancient fishing village of Drumlinie once lay between it and the sea, but has vanished long ago, buried beneath the shifting sandhills, and not a trace of it is now to be seen.

Robert Arbuthnot and Beatrix Gordon died in the same year, 1682, as we have seen.¹ They had issue four sons and at least one daughter, as follows:

- I. Alexander (Rev.), eldest son, to whom we shall return.
- II. John, who settled at Rora, of whom presently.
- III. William, who settled at the Mills of Invernettie, Peterhead. He married in 1665 Christian, daughter of John Hampton, at the stone mill of Inverugie, and he certainly had issue—
 - (1) John, baptized at Peterhead June, 1674 (a witness, John Hampton), buried at Peterhead in 1676.
 - (2) Robert, baptized at Peterhead 8th December, 1676 (witnesses Robert Martine and Robert Arbuthnot, probably of Scotsmill).
 - (3) Alexander, baptized 9th April, 1683, a witness being "Robert Arbuthnot."
 - (1) Elizabeth, baptized 7th January, 1678.
 - (2) Margaret, baptized 1st May, 1688, "Robert Arbuthnot" again named as witness.²

IV. Robert, of Whitehill, of whom presently.

- I. A daughter, married to Patrick Forbes, second son of Thomas Forbes of Auchredie.³

John Arbuthnot, second son of Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill, settled at Rora and became factor to the Earl Marischal and to the Earl of Erroll.

In 1662 "John Arbuthnot in Rora" had sasine of lands in the parish of Deer, "on a bond by Colonel George Keith,

¹ Inscription in St. Fergus Churchyard. John Moir tells us that "A small silver cup in the form of a wine-glass, belonging to this venerable couple, inscribed with their initials, is in the possession of John Moir, printer, Edinburgh. This cup had been time immemorial in the family of the said Robert, in the form of a quaich."—John Moir's *History of the Arbuthnot Family*, written in 1815.

² These names are extracted from the parish registers of Peterhead, where they are all stated to be the children of "William Arbuthnot in Invernettie." Nothing is known of their descendants, but John Moir states that William Arbuthnot of Invernettie "left two sons who went abroad and made considerable fortunes, and one daughter, whose descendants cannot now be traced."

³ Macfarlane's *Genealogies*, vol. ii. p. 234.

brother-german to the Lord Marischal, . . . to the said John Arbuthnot and his spouse," etc.¹

In 1665 he was witness to a sasine dated 15th June, of William Arbuthnot, son of Robert Arbuthnot in Whitehill, to some lands in Rattray, in the parish of Crimond.²

In 1687 he was, with his brother, the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert, third Viscount Arbuthnott, called as next-of-kin in a Curatory appointed for Alexander Arbuthnot, last Laird of Cairngall.³

There is extant a lease, dated 1694, by which the "noble and potent Lord William Lord Keith" leases to John Arbuthnot in Rora "all and hail the pieces portion of land at Burnhead of Airthie, called the Rood Priory." For these lands he was to pay "hail the somme of twenty pounds Scots money at two terms in the year, Whitsunday and Martinmas, by equal portions," etc. This was signed at Inverugie, 7th February, 1694, and a witness was "Robert Arbuthnot, son to the said John Arbuthnot."⁴

He married Margaret Robertson, and both were living in 1709. She was his widow in 1715-6, paying rent in that year to the estate of the Earl Marischal. She was living in 1718, when she detained part of her rent as interest on some debt owing to her.⁵

John Arbuthnot in Rora seems to have had the following issue :

- I. William, baptized at Longside, 29th October, 1665, settled at Auchterady, New Deer. He assisted his father in the management of the Marischal estate, and married a daughter of Gordon of Nethermuir, and by her had two sons, who, according to John Moir, went to the East Indies "in the military service," and three daughters :

- (1) Margaret, born 1695, who married John Moir in Kirktown of Longside (he died 2nd April, 1745), and was grandmother of

¹ *Aberdeenshire Sasines*, vol. i.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii.

³ See p. 134, for some remarks on this circumstance.

⁴ Information kindly communicated by the Rev. William Arbuthnot, in whose possession is the original lease.

⁵ Forfeited Estate Papers relating to the lands of the Earl Marischal.

John Moir the printer, who compiled the MS. *History of the Arbuthnots*, which has been so invaluable in the course of preparing the present work. She died 7th November, 1738, and was buried at Longside.*

(2) Jean, who married "a merchant in Aberdeen."

(3) Anne, who died unmarried.

II. Robert, baptized at Longside, 13th April, 1669, who succeeded his father as factor to the Earl Marischal, and married, 20th June, 1699, Jean, daughter to Mr. Archibald Sempill of Dykhead (third son of Hugh, fifth Lord Sempill),† and had a son, George, baptized at Peterhead, 4th May, 1700, of whom nothing more is known. Jean Sempill was living in 1716, when John Arbuthnot in Rora received factory for "Mrs. Jean Sempell, widow of Robert Arbuthnot, sometime chamberlain to the Earl Marischal, to receive from Alexander Reid a year's annual rent of 1,000 merks."‡

III. John, baptized at Longside 14th March, 1674.

IV. Alexander, baptized at Longside 28th May, 1677.

V. John (second of the name), baptized at Longside 22nd November, 1678.

VI. John (third of the name), baptized at Longside 25th April, 1680.

I. Mary, baptized at Longside 14th May, 1664.

II. Elizabeth, baptized at Longside 12th March, 1667.

III. Isabel, baptized at Longside 11th May, 1675.

IV. Janet, baptized at Longside 29th July, 1676. This is the lady referred to by John Moir as "a most intelligent and well-informed woman," who took an interest in genealogy and received from her grandfather (Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill) much information regarding the earlier generations of

* John Moir's mother was also an Arbuthnot, his father having married Mary, daughter of James Arbuthnot of West Rora and sister of Charles, Abbot of Ratisbon. (See p. 255.)

† *Edinburgh Parish Registers*, Scottish Record Society.

‡ Forfeited Estate Papers relating to the lands of the Earl Marischal.

her family and transmitted them to her niece, Mrs. John Moir, with whom she resided at Kirk-town of Longside towards the end of her life (see pp. 91-2).

The Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot, eldest son of Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill and Beatrix Gordon, entered the church as an Episcopalian and became in 1665 (doubtless through family interest) minister of Arbuthnott, Kincardineshire. He had previously been for two years minister of Holywood, Dumfriesshire. He took a deep interest in genealogy, and wrote a continuation of the old Latin history of the Arbuthnot family compiled by Principal Alexander Arbuthnot, both of which sources of information have been largely drawn upon in the early pages of this work. What is generally spoken of as the original MS. of the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot's *History* is preserved at the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Mr. Joseph Davidson, however, who copied the MS. for me, assures me that it is "not the original, but a copy only, in which some blanks occur." The whereabouts of the original seems, therefore, to be unknown; it does not appear to be among the papers at Arbuthnott House, and is perhaps no longer in existence.¹

In one particular the MS. is disappointing. Alexander Arbuthnot unfortunately limits himself exclusively to the senior line of Arbuthnott,² and tells us nothing of his own descent. In 1687 he was called as one of the next-of-kin to Alexander, last Laird of Cairngall. In 1689 he was deposed from his living by the third Viscount Arbuthnott, for non-compliance with the Presbyterian system. In 1690 he bought from William Rait of Halgreen (who had acquired it in 1678 from "George Ogilvie of Barras and the deceased Dame Margaret Arbuthnot, his widow,") the estate of Kinghornie, near the Castle of Halgreen, standing close to the sea, at the mouth of the Bervie. Here he spent the last year of his life.

¹ I believe it is no secret that we are to be gratified, in the near future, by the publication in full of these two unique family records. It is my great misfortune to precede rather than to follow a publication of such extreme interest, which will appeal to genealogists and antiquarians throughout the country.

² We may notice here that the Rev. Alexander, and also his son, the Doctor, spelt their name with two *t*'s, though in the latter's published works he used only one *t*. The older form is certainly the single *t*.

He and his family were all ardent Jacobites, willing to risk life and fortune in the Stuart interest and retaining their sympathies long after that cause was irretrievably lost.

The Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot died 27th February, 1691, and was buried at Arbuthnott. He was twice married, first (4th April, 1666) to Margaret, daughter of Mr. John Lammie, Dean of Brechin¹—of a family who had also gone through their share of persecution at the hands of the Presbyterian party—and secondly to Catherine Ochterlony, who survived him.

By his first wife he had issue—

- I. John (Doctor), baptized at Arbuthnott 29th April, 1667, physician to Queen Anne, of whom presently.
- II. Robert, baptized at Arbuthnott 3rd June, 1669, afterwards a banker at Rouen, of whom presently.
- III. Alexander, baptized at Arbuthnott 27th June, 1671, died in infancy.
- IV. Alexander (second of the name), baptized at Arbuthnott 7th December, 1675. His will, dated 18th March, 1738, at Calcutta, shows him to have been a Bengali merchant, and to have left no legitimate offspring. His sister, "Mrs. Elizabeth Arbuthnot," is appointed executrix, and the will was proved by her attorney, George Ochterlony 24th November, 1742.
- I. Katherine, baptized at Arbuthnott 1st December, 1672, probably dead before 1733, as she is not named in the will of her brother John.
- II. Anne, baptized at Arbuthnott 24th August, 1681. Living in 1733, in which year Dr. John Arbuthnot made his will and left her £20 for mourning.
- III. Joan, baptized at Arbuthnott 17th March, 1685. Moir states that one of the daughters of the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot married Mr. Caldenhead (or Aikenhead), and that the latter told Mr. Robert Arbuthnot, Secretary to the Board of Trustees, that the Rev. Alexander "possessed more learning than any of his sons."

¹ See birthbrief facing p. 162. Her mother was Catherine Lindsay, daughter of Alexander Lindsay of Canterland by his wife, Helen Haldane, daughter of John Haldane of Gleneagles.

IV. Elizabeth (according to Mr. Aitken, not found in the parish registers), to whom Dr. John Arbuthnot also left £20 for mourning. Her brother Alexander, as we have mentioned, appointed her executrix under his will, dated 1738. She was in that year residing at Montrose.

By his second wife, Catherine Ochterlony,¹ the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot had issue a son—

V. George, baptized at Arbuthnott 15th February, 1688, inherited the estate of Kinghornie, and was an officer in Queen Anne's Guard. Of him presently.

Doctor John Arbuthnot, eldest son of the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot and Margaret Lammie, has been so fully and ably dealt with by Mr. G. A. Aitken in his *Life and Works of John Arbuthnot, M.D.*, that there is no occasion here to go into the minute details of his career, which will be very briefly summarized.

He was baptized at Arbuthnott Church 29th April, 1667, and educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen. On his father's death in 1691 he applied for leave to put up a monument to his memory above his grave at Arbuthnott, but certain objections were made and conditions laid down by Lord Arbuthnott (who supported the Presbyterian party, then newly come into power), and this possibly deterred John Arbuthnot from his purpose.² There is, at any rate, no monument to his father now extant at Arbuthnott.

John Arbuthnot probably came to London very shortly after his father's death in 1691. He was for a time at University College, Oxford. He soon became known as a writer, and in 1696, at the age of twenty-nine, he took his doctor's degree at St. Andrew's. Accident calling him to attend Prince George of Denmark at Epsom in 1705, he was directly afterwards appointed Physician-Extraordinary to the Queen. In 1709 he became Physician-in-Ordinary, and gradually

¹ Of Catherine Ochterlony's parentage nothing is known, but it is possible that she was a daughter of the Rev. David Ochterlony, who was minister of the neighbouring parish of Fordoun about this time. He died in 1691, aged about 68, his wife, Margaret Carnegie, having died in 1647. One daughter of his married James Farquharson of Tullochcroy.

² Aitken, p. 7.

acquired a considerable influence at Court. Anne was at this time a stout, middle-aged woman of forty-four, suffering much from gout, while we may borrow Miss Strickland's phrase and add that "devouring large quantities of food was this queen's propensity, rather than a dainty discrimination regarding its quality." She was a weak woman, to whom it was an absolute necessity to shelter herself under the influence of a stronger personality. For many years the Duchess of Marlborough had reigned supreme over her "poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley," but at the time when Dr. Arbuthnot first came into close contact with the Court, the haughty favourite's influence was on the wane. The interior of Kensington Palace was at this period agitated by many cross-currents and conflicting intrigues. Robert Harley, a former protégé of the Duke of Marlborough's, saw an opportunity in Queen Anne's growing estrangement from the Duchess to advance his own interests and supplant his benefactor. He paid assiduous court to Abigail Masham, the bedchamber woman—who also owed everything to the Marlboroughs, having been raised from obscurity to a position at Court through the Duchess's kindness—who was then climbing into favour, and engaged in undermining the woman who had made her fortune. This somewhat mean intrigue succeeded beyond all expectation. It took Harley three years to overturn the Marlborough-Godolphin Ministry, which, at the commencement of the reign, had seemed so securely established in the Queen's favour. The last violent and dramatic interview between the Queen and her once loved "Mrs. Freeman" took place at Kensington on Sunday, 6th April, 1710. That interview was the death-knell of the Marlborough administration. It had been a great ministry, and it was succeeded by one of mere intriguers, place-hunters, and opportunists. Not even the distinction of having been founder of the magnificent Harleian Collection—now in the British Museum and the property of the nation—can reconcile us to the dubious political career of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford. But dubious and disappointing as it was, he was no St. John, and in his subsequent quarrel with the latter showed a dignity and restraint unknown and impossible to that arch-intriguer and betrayer of every cause and principle in turn.



Dr. John Arbuthnot, Physician to Queen Anne.

From a portrait in the possession of Mr. William Arbuthnot-Leslie of Warthill.

Dr. Arbuthnot, both on public grounds, as approving of the Peace of Utrecht, and through private friendship, supported Harley. From one of Swift's letters,¹ we know that he played "a great part" in the expulsion of the Marlborough-Godolphin ministry in 1710. He was a friend and supporter of Abigail Masham's, but it is not clear that he approved of her violent quarrel with Harley in 1714, when feelings ran so high that the latter exclaimed, in the Queen's presence, that "he would leave some people as low as he found them when they first attracted his notice."²

It would seem that Dr. Arbuthnot expostulated with Mrs. Masham about this time, for it must be to her that he refers as follows in a letter to Swift: "I was told to my face that what I said in this case went for nothing; that I did not care if the great person's (i.e. Queen Anne's) affairs went to entire ruin, so I could support the interests of the Dragon;³ that I did not know the half of his proceedings," etc.

The conclusion one comes to, in analyzing Dr. Arbuthnot's attitude towards the controversies of his time, is that he was not a Jacobite in the sense that he was willing to risk civil war by recalling the exiled Royal House, but that he rather agreed with Swift in preferring the Protestant Succession, and was, in fact, what Lord Chesterfield called him—"a Jacobite by prejudice, and a Republican by reflexion and reasoning." It seems clear that he supported Bolingbroke and Mrs. Masham only so far as their schemes tended to establish a strong Tory Government in power on the Queen's death. An anecdote related by Miss Strickland in her *Life of Queen Anne* suggests that Dr. Arbuthnot was not in the counsels of the extreme Jacobites in 1714.⁴ As a friend of Mrs. Masham, he certainly came under the condign displeasure of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, who bitterly reproached Queen Anne for giving her confidence to "Mrs. Masham, her sister, and a Scotch doctor, and others one is ashamed to name."⁵

¹ Swift to Arbuthnot, 22nd July, 1714.

² Smollet's *History of England*, vol. x. p. 186.

³ This was a nickname given to Harley by Swift.

⁴ See Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. viii. pp. 533-4, *note*.

⁵ Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Queen Anne. Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. viii. p. 383.

There are several letters of Arbuthnot's among the Sloane MSS. In one, dated 2nd April, 1710, he refers to his family arms as follows: "I have not gott my seal grav'd, because I had resolved once to have the crest of the family coat, which is three *malots* and a crescent on a field azure, so:—[*then follows a sketch of the arms, as borne by the Viscount, without mark of difference*]. This is only to show you the situation. They can draw it well enough, the crest is a peacock's head, with the motto *Laus Deo*, and the supporters are two Griffins; this is the family coat, which I think I shall stick to. I had once a mind to change the peacock's head for a common cock's head, with the motto *Vigilando*, being proper for a physician," etc.

This letter is addressed to Sir Hans Sloane, and is signed, as were all Doctor Arbuthnot's letters, "John Arbuthnott." The Viscount's branch seem to have adopted the two *tt*'s some time in the seventeenth century, and Doctor Arbuthnot's line probably followed their example. As regards the arms, neither the Doctor nor any of his family appear to have matriculated them, and perhaps he was not aware that he had not the right to bear the undifferenced arms.

As is well known, Queen Anne died very suddenly, and the Jacobite plans miscarried completely. The Queen's will, even, was unsigned, and Dr. Arbuthnot and the Mashams found themselves almost destitute. Arbuthnot was something of a philosopher, and took a whimsical interest in observing the altered attitude of former friends after his change of fortune. He had, however, friends of a different calibre, among the greatest writers and wits of the period. Swift, Pope, and Gay formed with Arbuthnot a brilliant group in the literary revival of Queen Anne's reign. Arbuthnot is known as the inventor of the character of "John Bull" as typifying England, though very few people who use the term nowadays have any idea that it originated with him.¹ His character was a very lovable one. He knew no jealousy,

¹ Dr. John Arbuthnot's *History of John Bull* was a political satire which had a great vogue at the time. It was written to denounce the war with France, and to defend the much-debated Peace of Utrecht. The topical allusions were, of course, more intelligible to his generation than to our own, and the humour of it more apparent.

and his carelessness has left in doubt his part in many literary productions believed with good reason to be partially or entirely his work. Lord Chesterfield even tells us that Dr. Arbuthnot's sons were in the habit of making kites of his manuscripts, many of which "would have furnished good matter for folios."

Dr. Arbuthnot was a great sufferer from asthma, and he moved to Hampstead in order to get relief. A beautiful letter of his, written after he realized that for him there could be no recovery, has been printed among the Works of Pope, to whom it was addressed.¹ Part of this letter, which is dated from Hampstead, 17th July, 1734, runs as follows :

" . . . I have nothing to repay my friends with at present, but prayers and good wishes. I have the satisfaction to find that I am as officiously served by my friends, as he that has thousands to leave in legacies ; besides the assurance of their sincerity. God Almighty has made my bodily distress as easy as a thing of that nature can be. I have found some relief, at least sometimes, from the air of this place. My nights are bad, but many poor creatures have worse.

" As for you, my good friend, I think, since our first acquaintance, there have not been any of those little suspicions or jealousies that often affect the sincerest friendships ; I am sure, not on my side. I must be so sincere as to own, that though I could not help valuing you for those talents which the world prizes, yet they were not the foundation of my friendships ; they were quite of another sort ; nor shall I at present offend you by enumerating them : and I make it my last request, that you will continue that Noble Disdain and Abhorrence of Vice, which you seem naturally endued with ; but still with a due regard to your own safety ; and study more to reform than chastise, though the one cannot be effected without the other. . . .

" A recovery in my case, and at my age, is impossible, the kindest wish of my friends is Euthanasia. . . ."

¹ See *Works of Alexander Pope*, edited by the Rev. Lisle Bowles, 1806, vol. viii. pp. 290-2.

In October, the same year, Dr. Arbuthnot wrote to Swift as follows :¹

" . . . I am going out of this troublesome world, and you, among the rest of my friends, shall have my last prayers, and good wishes. . . . I am, at present, in the case of a man that was almost in harbour, and then blown back to sea ; who has a reasonable hope of going to a good place, and an absolute certainty of leaving a very bad one. Not that I have any particular disgust at the world ; for I have as great comfort in my own family, and from the kindness of my friends, as any man ; but the world, in the main, displeases me ; and I have too true a presentiment of calamities that are likely to befall my country. However, if I should have the happiness to see you before I die, you will find that I enjoy the comforts of life with my usual cheerfulness. . . . My family give you their love and service. The great loss I sustained in one of them² gave me my first shock ; and the trouble I have with the rest, to bring them to a right temper, to bear the loss of a father who loves them, and whom they love, is really a most sensible affliction to me. I am afraid, my dear friend, we shall never see one another more in this world. I shall, to the last moment, preserve my love and esteem for you, being well assured you will never leave the paths of virtue and honour ; for all that is in this world is not worth the least deviation from that way. . . ."

Dr. Arbuthnot died at Hampstead 27th February, 1735, and was buried in the Church of St. James's, Piccadilly. His wife's maiden name,³ strange to say, has never been discovered, though the date of her death, 3rd May, 1730, has

¹ *Works of Jonathan Swift*, edited by Sir Walter Scott, 1814, vol. xviii. pp. 285-7.

² He refers to the death of his son Charles three years before.

³ Her Christian name was Margaret. The burial registers of St. James's, Piccadilly, show that " Margaret Arbuthnott " was buried there 6th May, 1730. I should like to suggest that her surname may have been Wemyss. Her daughter, Margaret, leaves a legacy in her will to " my aunt Wemyss," and this may give us a clue as to the family into which Dr. Arbuthnot married. Some connection between the Wemyss and Arbuthnot families must have existed, and we find George Arbuthnot of Queen Anne's Guard (the Doctor's brother) appointing as one of the executors to his will " *John Weemyss of Suffolk St., surgeon,*" in 1729.

been recorded in periodicals of the day. By her he had issue—

- I. George, born 1703. Was Clerk to the Exchequer and first Secretary of the King's Remembrancer's Office, which post he occupied for twenty-eight years. He died 8th September, 1779, aged seventy-six, unmarried. Towards the end of his life he lived at Richmond, with his French cousins, Elizabeth and Esther Arbuthnot.
- II. Charles (Rev.), born 1705, was M.A. of Oxford, entered Holy Orders at Dublin, 1730. He died 2nd December, 1731, his death being a bitter grief to his father. Some verses by Charles Arbuthnot were prefixed to his father's *Tables of Ancient Coins*, published in 1727.
- I. Anne, a very accomplished lady, a friend of the poet Gay, for whose *Beggar's Opera* she is said to have composed or adapted the airs. She died unmarried in 1751, administration being granted to her brother George, 9th February, that year.
- II. Margaret, died unmarried. In her will, proved 2nd June, 1740, by her brother George Arbuthnot, she leaves £300 to "my dear uncle Robert," the same amount to "my aunt Wemyss," to her brother George £100, and to "Cousin Charles Lamy" £20.¹

It will be noticed that none of the Doctor's children married, and this line therefore became extinct, as, it is believed, did that of his brother Robert, the banker at Rouen, which we shall take next.

Robert Arbuthnot, second son of the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot and Margaret Lammie, was baptized at Arbuthnott Church, 3rd June, 1669. As a young man of twenty he fought in Dundee's army at the battle of Killiecrankie, 27th July, 1689, where the Highlanders scored a temporary success, which, however, it proved impossible to follow up. His

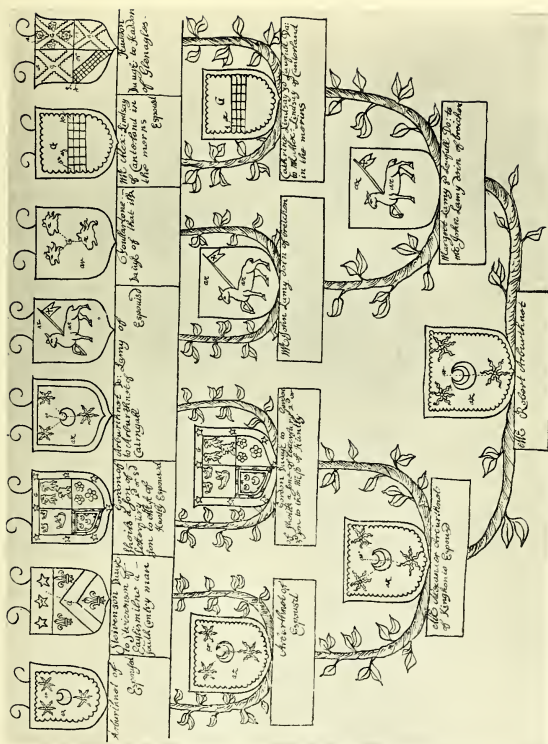
¹ P.C.C., Browne, 161. Perhaps this is the "Mrs. Margaret Arbuthnot" who was buried at Morden, Surrey, 29th May, 1740.—See the *Genealogist*, vol. vii. p. 39; *Registers of Morden, Surrey*.

prospects being ruined with the failure of the Stuart cause, Robert Arbuthnot, like many other Jacobites, went abroad, and took up business as a banker at Rouen, where he founded the firm of "*Arbuthnot et Cie.*"¹

Mr. Aitken's researches show him to have been concerned in the negotiations started by the Tories in the last years of Queen Anne's reign for bringing in the Chevalier de St. George as King after her death. These plans, in which Lady Masham and Bolingbroke were deeply concerned, had the approval of the Queen, but her death, happening with unexpected suddenness in August, 1714, threw the Jacobites into dismay, and was ruinous to their hopes. The Whigs seized the reins of government, and a vigorous prosecution of the Tory ministers immediately followed. In the *Report of the Committee to the House of Commons* of 9th June, 1715, the name of Robert Arbuthnot constantly occurs, as a correspondent and abettor of the disgraced ministers, who paid the penalty of failure, lack of organization, and fatal disagreement among themselves,

At this point, when the Jacobite party appeared to be utterly crushed and the accession of the Elector of Hanover seemed to have been bloodlessly secured, a serious insurrection broke out in Scotland, and in September, 1715, the Earl of Mar, after a good deal of vacillation—to use no stronger term—raised the Royal Standard at Braemar, in the name of King James VIII. A French invasion of England was planned simultaneously with this enterprise, and both Robert Arbuthnot and his brother George—who, like him, was an ardent Jacobite and was in France at this time—threw

¹ Robert Arbuthnot at some time in his life obtained a birthbrief from the Lyon Office, showing his arms and descent from his eight great-grandparents. An illustration of this document will be found facing this page. It is a curious circumstance that after settling in France Robert Arbuthnot seems to have abandoned his family arms, for in 1696 we find that his arms were recorded in the *Armorial-Général de France* as "*d'argent, à trois arbres arrachés de sinople, 2 et 1.*" Here he is styled "*Robert Arbuthnot, marchand en gros à Rouen.*" The device adopted—three trees—suggests an erroneous idea that his surname had an arboreal derivation, for we find that various French families whose surnames began with "Arb" used trees as the principal charge in their arms. Arbo d'Albret bore in the second and third quarters "*d'argent à deux arbres de sinoples,*" and Arboussier de Languedoc bore "*d'argent à un arbre de sinople.*"—See *Armorial-Général de France*, edited by G. A. Prevost, and *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, by de La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier. Did the uprooted tree suggest Robert Arbuthnot's sense of banishment from his native land? Perhaps a little touch of sentiment has found its way—not for the first time—into the herald's conventional design.



Birthbrief granted to Robert Arbuthnot of Rouen.

themselves wholeheartedly into the scheme. Robert is said to have advanced £10,000 on behalf of the Duke of Marlborough, who always managed to have a little interest in either of the rival courts, while in February, 1716, it is stated that George Arbuthnot, who is several times described as a "wine-merchant," "has a ship at Diep reddy to sail with the first fair wind, and put on board both Burgundie and Champagne, with twenty hogsheads of true Claret for your Grace, which I hope will come in good season."¹

James never benefited by this latter contribution, for before the date of its despatch he had left for ever the unhappy land that had suffered and was destined to suffer so much for his unfortunate race. He had landed at Peterhead—where an Arbuthnot had the distinction of raising the tenantry on the Marischal estate for his service, as will be related in its place—only to find his cause already nearly desperate. No wonder that a settled melancholy was observed in James. From all sides he received news of fresh misfortunes, and the utter incapacity of Lord Mar soon showed itself. He must also have been cut to the heart by the news of the disaster at Preston and, following upon it, the execution of the friend of his boyhood, Lord Derwentwater, one of the "rebel" lords who surrendered after that action.²

¹ Letter from General George Hamilton to the Earl of Mar, 13th February, 1716. Quoted in Aitken's *Life of Doctor Arbuthnot*, p. 84.

² The star of the terrible '15 set in blood and horror, no hour of it more tragic than that which saw the uncalled-for sacrifice of the young Lord Derwentwater's life. George I and Walpole, while reprieving some of the others, reached the immovable decision that no mercy should be shown in his case. "The House of Lords voted a petition to the King to reprieve such of the rebel lords as deserved his pardon," writes the Marchesa Vitelleschi (*A Court in Exile*, vol. i. p. 64), "but unfortunately there was no Queen-consort, or surely she would have obtained a reprieve for the young, gallant, and beloved Derwentwater." The defence put forward at Lord Derwentwater's trial has been thought somewhat lacking in dignity, and it is certainly a matter for undying regret that he should have been advised to frame it in words that read almost like an apology. There was, we must remember, no precedent for the '15, and the agonized entreaties of a young and beautiful wife, the unconscious appeal of some small children, the prospective ruin of his house and, with it, the loss of all that made life beautiful and gracious, must be taken into account when weighing the motives of those disastrous, stupefying hours of February, 1716. The despondency and confusion of mind that seem to have momentarily overwhelmed Lord Derwentwater after sentence had been pronounced were due to the torturing anxiety lest he might be held to have compromised his loyalty by an ignoble submission. It was only when asked to make some small concession with regard to his religion (he was a Roman Catholic) that Lord Derwentwater, disdaining to stoop to subterfuge, however trifling,

After the '15, those of James' adherents who managed to make good their escape fled to the continent. To these, Robert Arbuthnot of Rouen showed all the kindness in his power, and what money could do to relieve and comfort those who had lost all in the service of the unfortunate house of Stuart was cheerfully and generously done by him. He became known as "the Philanthropic Robert of Rouen." "He lived in a state of princely magnificence," writes John Moir, "the friend and father of all the unfortunate adherents of the exiled James VII, as well as of every human being."

On 17th August, 1716, Robert Arbuthnot was created a Baronet of Scotland, with remainder to his lawful heirs, by James III at Avignon.¹

In 1721 Robert Arbuthnot was one of the "syndics" appointed to wind up the affairs of John Law, after the failure of the Mississippi scheme.²

There is a description of him in a letter written by Pope to the Hon. Robert Digby in 1722. After referring to the Doctor, he says: "His brother, who is lately come into England, goes also to the Bath, and is a more extraordinary man than he, worth your going thither on purpose to know him. The spirit of philanthropy, so long dead to our world, is revived in him: he is a philosopher all of fire; so warmly, nay so wildly in the right, that he forces all others about him to be so too, and draws them into his own vortex. He is a star that looks as if it were all fire, but is all benignity,

found himself able to refuse his life with dignity, and from that moment recovered complete serenity of mind. His simple, touching words on the scaffold show how deeply he regretted the ambiguity of his defence.

But Lord Derwentwater will never be misunderstood by those to whom the roll of the Jacobites is sacred—consecrated by the blinding tears of centuries of regret. There are names as inspiring on that proud roll, but none more noble, in the best sense of the word, than that of James Radcliffe, third Earl of Derwentwater. Round the grey towers of his old home in Northumberland, the northern lights played fitfully and with unusual brightness the night of his death. His tenantry, whose devotion had saved him from arrest in the first days of the insurrection—when the young man, undecided as to the line of conduct he should follow, found a warrant already out against him and was almost driven into rebellion—christened them "Lord Derwentwater's Lights," and so they have ever since been called in the locality.

¹ *Historical MSS. Commission. Calendar of Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle*, vol. iv. p. 56. Many letters of Robert Arbuthnot are printed among the Stuart MSS.

² Letter of Mr. G. A. Aitken in the *Athenæum*, 18th June, 1892.

all gentle and beneficial influence. If there be other men in the world that would serve a friend, yet he is the only one, I believe, that would make even an enemy serve a friend.”¹

In a letter of Doctor Arbuthnot's, dated September 1723, there is a reference to his brother Robert. After referring to Lord Peterborough, he says the latter “is mightily enamoured of my brother Robert; he is indeed a knight-errant like himself. . . .”²

In 1732 Robert Arbuthnot was instrumental in procuring the arrest in Rome of Thompson, the chief criminal in the vast swindling concern known as the Charitable Corporation. In one of his letters he claims to have expended the sum of 2,000 livres to bring to Paris the papers which had been seized with Thompson. “I believe the discovery was hardly expected to come from Rome, but whatever way it comes, it will save many thousands of pounds to the poor sufferers.”³

He is mentioned in the will of his brother, the Doctor (drawn up in 1733 and proved March, 1735), who leaves his watch to “my dearest and most affectionate brother Robert.”⁴

Robert Arbuthnot was twice married. His first wife's name is unknown, but she was living in 1717, in which year she is mentioned as “a black-hearted Huguenot” in a letter from Dr. Patrick Abercromby to the Duke of Mar, dated from Paris, 18th January, 1717.⁵

Dr. Abercromby states that the contents of papers relating to the late rebellion entrusted to Robert Arbuthnot are known to have been betrayed to the English Ambassador in Paris, Lord Stair, and implies that Mrs. Arbuthnot may have been the guilty party. He relates that when she was recently in London, she was “petitioning for a pension.” Robert Arbuthnot himself came under some unjust suspicion among the Jacobites about this time, owing to his having been confused with another Robert Arbuthnot, then in Lord Stair's

¹ Aitken's *Life of Dr. John Arbuthnot*, p. 101.

² *Ibid.*, p. 104.

³ Letter from Robert Arbuthnot to Earl Waldegrave, 22nd May, 1732.—*Add. MSS.*, 32777, f. 59.

⁴ Aitken, p. 159.

⁵ *Historical MSS. Commission. Calendar of Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle*, vol. iii. p. 456.

employ, and who was very active in discovering and frustrating the Jacobite schemes.¹

Very possibly the two wives were also confused, and the implication against the banker's wife is probably quite unfounded. In 1718 James Ogilvie of Boyne wrote to the Duke of Mar to defend Robert Arbuthnot from the injurious reports then current, and the Duke, in his reply, wrote as follows :

" . . . You certainly had a very honest meaning in giving me an account of that idle story about Mr. Arbuthnot. His character is better established and of an older date than to be called in question on any such trifling story."²

Robert Arbuthnot married secondly, in 1726 (settlement dated 11th and 12th July, that year), Elizabeth Duke, of the family of Duke of Benhall, Suffolk. Although the *Gentleman's Magazine* states that he married " a widow in Suffolk of £600 a-year," it does not appear from her will, dated 22nd June, 1729 (the year of her death), that she had been previously married. The settlement of 1726 is therein mentioned as having been made between " me, then Elizabeth Duke, of the first part, the said Robert Arbuthnott of the second," etc., and she bequeaths her manor of Bentley to her husband for life and after him to " my kinsman, Sir Edward Duke of Benhall, co. Suffolk, Bart." She bequeaths to her mother, Margaret Duke, an annuity of £30 a-year.³ She makes no mention of children, and her husband is described as " Robert Arbuthnott of Paris, France, banker," and it is stated that he " now resides with me at Hampstead." Perhaps husband and wife were not on quite the happiest terms at this time, for, after bequeathing her plate and jewels to Sir Edward

¹ This Robert Arbuthnot was Auditor of the Exchequer in Scotland, and seems also to have managed Lord Stair's business affairs. He died in London, in Lord Stair's house in Hanover Square, 4th August, 1727. After his death, Dr. John Arbuthnot was requested to be present at the opening of his papers, " to see if it were worth while for his wife, Elizabeth Arbuthnot, who was then in Scotland, to administer to him," etc. (*Chancery Proceedings*, 1714-58, 235/2). His parentage is quite unknown, but his wife was a daughter of James Carnegie of Craigo.

² Letter from the Duke of Mar to James Ogilvie of Boyne, 19th March, 1718.—*Calendar of Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle*, vol. vi. p. 169.

³ The family of Duke of Benhall had been settled in Suffolk since the middle of the sixteenth century. The Sir Edward Duke mentioned in this will died in 1732, when the Baronetcy became extinct.—See *Burke's Extinct Baronetage*.

Duke, the testatrix adds: "But should my husband refuse to let him have them, then I revoke the sum devised to my husband," etc.

Robert Arbuthnot died in 1741, and in September that year we find admonition of the goods of "Robert Arbuthnot, late of the City of Paris in the kingdom of France, a widower," granted to George Ochterlony, "attorney of John Arbuthnot, son of the deceased, to the use of the said John, now residing in the said City of Paris."

Robert Arbuthnot had issue, doubtless by his first wife, a son—

John Arbuthnot, Chevalier de St. Louis, living in Paris in 1741. He is said to have married a French lady, and he had issue—

I. Alexander, who is mentioned in the will of his cousin, George Arbuthnot, son of the Doctor, who died in 1779. He left to Alexander £2,000 Old South Sea Annuity Stock. No more is known of Alexander, but it is believed that with him the French line became extinct.*

I. Esther. Mr. Aitken notices a letter, in French, addressed by her to Doctor Hunter in 1779, stating that she wished to present a portrait of her great-uncle, the Doctor, to the University of Aberdeen. No trace of this portrait can now be found, and it does not appear ever to have been presented to the University.

II. Elizabeth. These two sisters were known in the family as "the French Ladies," and lived latterly with their cousin George at Richmond. They were appointed executrices to his will, and with their brother participated in his estate.

George Arbuthnot of Kinghornie, fifth son of the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot (but only child by the second wife, Catherine Ochterlony), was baptized in Arbuthnott Church 15th February, 1688. The following year, as we have seen, his father was ejected from his living, and having purchased the small estate of Kinghornie in 1690, he settled there with

* The author has quite recently been informed of the existence of a French family of the name of Arbuthnot, who may, perhaps, descend from the above Alexander.

his family. The Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot died in 1691, and in May, 1694, "Catharine Ouchterlonie, widow of Mr. Alexander Arbuthnot, sometime rector of Arbuthnot," got sasine of the lands of Kinghornie, to herself in liferent and her son George in fee.*

This son George became an officer in Queen Anne's Guard,[†] but, inheriting strongly his family's traditional loyalty to the Stuarts, he left England on the Queen's death and embarked on a business career in France. He is stated to have become a wine-merchant, and later to have entered the service of the East India Company. In 1729, just after his wife's death, he engaged himself as super-cargo on one of the Company's vessels bound for China, and the voyage turned out to be more eventful than was anticipated, for we read that "the super-cargoes conspired to wrong the Company and agreed (with the exception of Arbuthnot) to say that they had received less than what they really obtained for the goods and to represent the cost of what they bought as greater than it was. . . ." George Arbuthnot, in the statement he subsequently drew up, says that "he opposed the contract, . . . but receiving no support was obliged to agree." It was on information received from him that the Company afterwards took action. The suit was formally brought against George Arbuthnot and the other super-cargoes, but the real feeling of the Company towards him is shown by the fact that they

* *General Register of Sasines*, vol. 67. It appears that after her husband's death, Catharine Ochterlony married a second time, for in 1698 she was the wife of "Robert Gordon of Kinghornie," who, it appears, was "brother-german to the Laird of Daach." This information was extracted from the records at Stonehaven by Dr. W. A. Macnaughton and sent to Mr. G. Aitken in 1908. Another extract (taken from the *Register of Services, Curatories, and Other Deeds*, from 1697 to 1739) shows that "Att Stonhaven the Eighteenth day of March, 1699 years, in presence of Master James Keith of Auquhorst, Sheriff-Depute of Kincardine, etc. etc. . . . The said day, anent the summonds and action raised and persued att the instance of James, (? John), Alexander, Robert and Anna Arbuthnott in tounheid of Boghall, Against Katharen Ouchterlonie, relict of the decest Mr. Alexander Arbuthnott, late parson of Arbuthnott and Robert Gordone of Kinghornie, now her husband, for his interest touching the s^d defender and her said husband for his interest," etc.

† This was evidently the Scottish Royal Guard, which was joined to Queen Anne's English bodyguard after the Union, on the advice of the Duke of Argyll. Miss Strickland writes: "So recently as the year of her accession, these guards, commanded by the Earl of Orkney, had not adopted the use of fire-arms; for the Scots Royals wore heavy steel caps and used bows and arrows, with broad-swords and targets."—*Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. viii. p. 395.

continued to employ him, and on his death assigned £1,000 to his little boy.¹

George Arbuthnot certainly married a Miss Robinson, whose father was a portrait-painter and is said to have belonged to an old Leicestershire family, apparently Roman Catholics. Mr. Robinson had three daughters, and some little doubt has arisen as to the identity of George Arbuthnot's wife. John Moir says that he married "Miss Margaret Robinson, . . . sister to the celebrated Anastasia Robinson, who was married to the great Earl of Peterborough." There appears to have been some confusion as to this Margaret, for Sir John Hawkins states that she married a Colonel Bowles, whereas it was *Elizabeth* Robinson who married Colonel Bowles, as is clear from Lady Peterborough's will, dated 4th January, 1755, in which she leaves "to sister Elizabeth Bowles £500." A very circumstantial, but evidently not quite accurate, account of the three Robinson sisters is given by Sir John Hawkins in his *History of Music*, the details having been supplied to him by the Duchess of Portland, who knew the Robinsons intimately. Sir John's account of them is as follows: The eldest was Anastasia, the celebrated singer, the story of whose romantic marriage to the brilliant and eccentric Lord Peterborough, her vicissitudes and the invidious position in which she was placed by her husband's refusal to make their marriage public for many years, and the reparation he finally made her for this injury, is well known; the second daughter, whom Sir John calls Margaret, but who was really Elizabeth, was trained to be a miniature-painter, but "slighted her studies and, deviating into her sister's track, would learn nothing but music"; had a delicate ear and great powers of execution, and would have shared her elder sister's celebrity but for an unconquerable "bashfulness," which had its origin in the fact that she was "lower in stature than the lowest of her sex." This being so, Sir John Hawkins relates, with apparent astonishment and in italics, that "*with these disadvantages she was not destitute of attractions: a gentleman of the army, Colonel Bowles, liked and married her!*" From the description of the supposed Margaret's personal appearance alone, it is not possible that

¹ Letter of Mr. G. A. Aitken in the *Athenæum*, June 18, 1892.

she can have been the same sister of Lady Peterborough whom Dr. Burney, on the authority of Mrs. Delany, describes as a "very pretty, accomplished woman, who married Dr. Arbuthnot's brother."¹

There was, however, a third sister, daughter to Mr. Robinson by a second wife, whose Christian name Sir John does not mention, and who was "married to Mr. George Arbuthnot, a wine-merchant, a brother of Dr. Arbuthnot, the physician and friend of Pope." This was certainly Margaret, and she died in 1729, shortly after the birth of her son.

George Arbuthnot died in China in 1733. In his will, dated 24th November, 1729, he directs that after payment of his debts all the residue of his estate should go to his son John, "for his sole use and behoof."² He appointed Dr. John Arbuthnot, John Wemyss, and Alexander Ochterlony "of London, merchant," executors of his will, or, in case of their decease during the child's nonage, George Ochterlony, Thomas Walls, and Charles Irvine of Rouen.

George Arbuthnot left one only son—

John Arbuthnot, of Kinghornie, afterwards of Ravensbury, near Mitcham, of Boulogne, and finally of Rockfleet Castle, Co. Mayo, born in 1729. He was only four years old at the time of his father's death. In 1754, having reached his twenty-fifth year, he was retoured heir to his father—styled "Captain" George Arbuthnot of Kinghornie in the Special Service dated 11th April that year—sasine following on the 26th August.³ Four years later, in 1760, John Arbuthnot sold Kinghornie to Mr. Francis Garden, afterwards Lord Gardenstone.

In 1755, Lady Peterborough died, leaving to her nephew, John Arbuthnot, £100, "for mourning." Probate of the will was granted to John Arbuthnot, her sister, Elizabeth Bowles, having renounced.⁴

Mr. Charles Arbuthnot, his second son, who was afterwards British Ambassador at Constantinople, writes as follows of his father, whom he never knew intimately, being brought

¹ Burney's *History of Music*, 1789, vol. iv. p. 248.

² P.C.C., Price, 168.

³ Extract from a copy of the title-deeds of Kinghornie, lent by Mr. William Arbuthnot-Leslie.

⁴ P.C.C., Glazier, 174.

up entirely by his mother's family: "My father, whose Christian name was John, was very young when my grandfather died. The persons under whose care my father had been placed, felt that the best mode of disposing of him was to educate him for trade. This, from what I have heard of my father, was a mistake; as I have understood that, having very superior talents, he was well calculated to succeed in the army or in one of the learned professions. In trade he failed. . . ."

A little later he says: "When I was at a private school at Richmond, my father failed in his trading speculations and he went to reside in France with his whole family. . . ."

John Arbuthnot was living near Mitcham, Surrey, in 1759, his first wife, Sally Margaret Cecil, being buried at Morden, 19th February that year. She was probably daughter and heiress of John Cecil of Ravensbury, Mitcham, who was buried at Morden 21st April, 1760, for that property was afterwards in the hands of John Arbuthnot, whose second wife, Ursula Fitzgerald, is described in the Morden burial registers as "of Ravensbury, Mitcham," in 1761.¹

In 1770 we find John Arbuthnot still at Mitcham, Surrey, occupying himself, among other things, with experiments in the cultivation of madder,² on which he had some new ideas. There are several letters of his among the correspondence of Mr. Arthur Young, the well-known agriculturist, with whom he was on terms of closest friendship and who took a keen interest in his experiments. These letters are of no very great interest, dealing chiefly with farming technicalities, but they nevertheless convey an impression of indomitable energy and enthusiasm, and are enlivened here and there with touches of humour.

In one letter—undated, but probably written about 1770—he writes:

"My madder this year has almost made me mad, having just conquered what I thought (an) insurmountable difficulty; but courage to a degree of wildness, and perseverance, will

¹ See *Genealogist*, vol. vii. p. 39. *Registers of Morden, Surrey*.

² The *Transactions of the Dublin Society*, 1800, Part I, contain an essay by John Arbuthnot "On the Culture and Curing of Madder." He was then no longer living, having died in 1797.

do great things. . . . Shall expect abuse about my cabbages ; much too late, but in short madder engrossed me, and all must submit to my darling," etc.

Mr. Young had many troubles, financial and domestic, in the years before 1775, and, when writing of them, he says : " The only pleasant moments that I passed were in visits to my friend Arbuthnot at Mitcham, whose agriculture so near the capital brought good company to his house. He was, upon the whole, the most agreeable, pleasant and interesting connection which I ever made in agricultural pursuits." ¹

In 1775 John Arbuthnot wrote to Young, rallying him on not possessing the faculty of pushing his own interests : " Was you fit for this good world, I think you might make a little bargain for yourself, but your d——d public spirit will ever make you give others what you ought to keep for yourself," etc.

Somewhere about this time Mr. Young relates that the Empress Catherine of Russia " had sent over seven or eight young men to learn practical agriculture, two or three of whom were fixed with my friend Arbuthnot, and others in different parts of the kingdom. They were under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Sambosky, who wrote to me at Bradfield, earnestly requesting that I would go to London and examine all the young men, that he might take or send them to St. Petersburg. This I accordingly did, and examined them very closely, except one, who refused to answer any questions, from a conviction of his absolute ignorance. I gave a certificate of the others' examination, and I asked Sambosky what would become of the obstinate fool who would not answer. He replied that without doubt he would be sent to Siberia for life, but I never heard whether this happened. . . . The intended establishment of an Imperial farm never took place, and after at least an expenditure of £10,000, the men on their arrival were turned loose, some to starve, some driven into the army, and others retained by Russian noblemen. In this wretched and ridiculous manner did the whole scheme end, which, under a proper arrangement might have been attended with very important effects." ²

¹ *Autobiography of Arthur Young*, edited by Miss M. Betham-Edwards, 1898, pp. 66-7. Smith Elder and Co.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 124-5.

John Arbuthnot appears to have written a pamphlet on various kinds of grasses, which seems to have been very indifferently translated into Russian by a M. Samborski, who appears not to have been the person mentioned above, but was, more probably, one of the Russian students on the farm at Mitcham.

In an undated letter John Arbuthnot writes: "An intimate friend of mine scribbled a little treatise on grasses, in which he treated Ray grass with some disdain, but as Samborski has just sent over a large cargo, he very wisely converted those aspersions into a *panegirick*, to the no small mortification of the Author, who was somewhat anxious to examine it before it went, though in vain, he just got a glimpse of one page, where he found an English hayloft metamorphosed into a Russian shrubbery. This sample will certainly establish my character with her Majesty as a most ingenious farmer, and as she is very desirous of having a large tract laid out in the style of an English garden, it is not impossible but that I may be sent for to plan and plant her stables in Petersburg. I think I could almost laugh to hear the whole read again into English. . . .

"I have made a complete convert of Livanow; he works hard, reads less, and gives up all thoughts of the university, at least till he can distinguish a ploughshare from a college Bible. Samborski sets them a noble example; he has dispatch'd the last ship that can sail these six months for Russia, and dedicates his whole time to the farm. You will believe him more assiduous than any of them, but he is likewise by much the best plowman, not only the best, but equal to three fourths of a real plowman. It would delight you to see him work. I am hard at work to save my distance for wheat-sowing, plough'd 23 acres in four days with 16 horses, it broke up like marble. If this weather continues one month, the farmers will be ruined," etc.

In 1773 John Arbuthnot published *An Inquiry into the Connection between the Present Price of Provisions and the Size of Farms, with Remarks on Population as affected thereby, etc.* By a Farmer. In this book he warmly defends the enclosure of common lands—a burning question of his day, and one of which the *pros* and *cons* are not settled yet, for

there are those among us who maintain that the landless British labourer of to-day is, even under the most favourable circumstances, economically worse off than his predecessor under the feudal laws. John Arbuthnot declares that the crying need of his day is increased production, and that this can only be attained by a scientific development of waste lands, that greater efficiency in farming must in the long run react beneficially upon the whole population, and, by reducing the cost of food, tend to alleviate the acute distress prevailing at the time.

There are traces in the Chancery Proceedings of a legal controversy that took place in the year 1778, between Admiral Marriott Arbuthnot and John Arbuthnot. We read as follows :¹

“ Marriott Arbuthnot of Charlotte Street, Rathbone Place, Co. Middlesex, Esquire, Complainant. That John Arbuthnot of Ravensbury, Co. Surrey, Esquire (Defendt), was in July 1774 possessed of several Leasehold Lands and Premises, upon which he requested the Complt to advance him the sum of £5,000, which the Complt agreed to. That the said John Arbuthnot now refuses to pay the Complt such principal money and Interest and insists that the Equity of Redemption thereof ought not to be foreclosed, but why the said John Arbuthnot so insists and refuses, the Complt cannot prevail on him to discover.” Among Mrs. Arthur Arbuthnot’s papers is a letter which states that Admiral Marriott Arbuthnot at one time lived at Mitcham, in the house formerly occupied by John Arbuthnot, and it seems probable that the Admiral took possession of the property in lieu of the £5,000 owing to him. This will probably explain why, in 1781, John Arbuthnot appears to have been in low water, and to have been obliged to throw up his farming enterprises. Mr. Young speaks of having received “ a sad letter from my friend Arbuthnot on his return from France, but it was written in so melancholy a strain on his own situation and that of his wife and family, that it has often made my heart ache to read it.” This letter, dated from the Cecil Street Coffee House 2nd April, 1781, is in existence. It is a very long one, and many of the allusions in it cannot now be understood.

¹ *Chancery Proceedings*, 1758-1800, No. 102, Arbuthnot v. Arbuthnot.

In one passage he speaks of the necessity he is under to "struggle hard to get abroad either to the East or West, for as I must live absent from my family, dreadfull thought, an hundred or ten thousand miles are the same; happy as I was last year, I am as downcast this, and see nothing but misery before my eyes, for Death would be preferable to living as I do, torn from my family without having it in my power to assist them sufficiently to make them live comfortably. Indeed, I have the satisfaction of finding Lord L. my staunch friend, through his interest Jack got the first year he was in India an appointment of £1,000 per ann. and is as happy as a Prince. If I can get George out next Spring, I shall regard nothing as to myself, trusting they will assist the girls. Little Alex¹ turns out a Wonder of the Age, is an excellent scholar and though but turned of twelve years has gone through six books of Euclid; he is indeed deservedly the admiration of all the place, having every accomplishment a Boy can have, manly beyond conception. I mean to finish him in Germany and then endeavour to get him into some Public Office, where knowledge of different languages may bring him forward.

"Poor Mrs. Arb.² was for many months last year at Death's door, I never went through such a scene, but thank God she is now better than she has been for years, the rest are all well. I was in hopes of seeing you in Town this winter, but must now give it up, if I live I will be with you in the summer. . . ."

Shortly after this a welcome change took place in John Arbuthnot's affairs. "By Lord Loughborough's interest, he got an appointment in Ireland, under the Linen Board," writes Young, "which carried him to that country, where he lived but a few years. I lost in him by far the most agreeable friend I was ever acquainted with." The appointment was that of Inspector-General of the Provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, and carried with it a salary of £500 per annum, dating from June, 1782. A house in Coleraine

¹ Alexander, afterwards Bishop of Killaloe.

² This refers to his third wife, Anne Stone, who died the following year.

³ John Arbuthnot's letters to Arthur Young are all in the MS. Room at the British Museum, *Add. MSS.*, 35, 126, ff. 84, 105, 150, 167, 169, 174, 189.

Street, Dublin, was also made over for his use by the Linen Board.

All his energies were now thrown into the requirements of his new post. His reports on the condition of the trade gave great offence in Ireland.¹ In 1784 he gave evidence on the subject before the House of Commons.

In 1786 he acquired from Sir Neal O'Donnell a permanent lease—involving practical ownership—of Rockfleet, Carriaghooly and Rosyvera, near Newport, Co. Mayo, covenanting to erect within fifteen years “a neat, good house with limestone or other good material, also good offices with a farmyard,” etc. The “neat house” was the present Rosyvera House, standing on the edge of the shore near the old half-ruined Rockfleet Castle—a small, mediæval fortress, once belonging to the celebrated Irish heroine, Grace O'Malley—and it is now the property of a brother of Mr. Vesey Stoney of Rossturk Castle, Co. Mayo.² It was begun by John Arbuthnot, but left unfinished at the time of his death in 1797. In his will, dated 17th September that year,³ he devised all his lands

¹ See *Observations on the Linen Trade in Ireland*, by R. Stephenson, 1784.

² We have no knowledge as to what reasons induced John Arbuthnot to settle in County Mayo. There were Arbuthnots living at Killala, on the other side of the county, about this time, but as far as is known they were not in any way related. The will of Richard Arbuthnot of Killala is dated 23rd September, 1777. His brother, the Rev. Nicholas Arbuthnot, entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1738, and in 1773 was appointed to the parish of Newtown Hamilton, Co. Armagh. He had two sons, James (who married Judith Beauchamp and died before 1781) and the Rev. Frederick Arbuthnot, who entered Trinity College in 1778, and married in 1789 Frances Hamilton of Capel Street, Dublin. He had issue a daughter, Phoebe, who died in 1803 and was buried at Armagh. There were also, as early as 1725, Arbuthnots settled in Co. Down, for in that year we find recorded a marriage settlement between Charles Arbuthnot, second son of John Arbuthnot of Ballany, Co. Down, and Arabella Arnold, eldest daughter of John Arnold of Greenan, Co. Down. Years later, in 1785, we find a deed whereby Charles Arbuthnot senior sells to Charles Arbuthnot junior the lands of Greenan, Co. Down. Still later, in 1796, we find a marriage settlement between William Arbuthnot, eldest son of William Arbuthnot of Rockvale, Co. Down, and Sarah, daughter of James McCully of Drumbane, Co. Down. From this family it would seem that some of the American Arbuthnots descend, for Mr. Charles Criswell Arbuthnot of Cleveland, Ohio, informs me that his grandparents came to America from Co. Down. In connection with this, it is of interest to remark that among the papers of the late Mr. George Arbuthnot-Leslie of Warthill, who was much interested in genealogy, there are found some notes about a William Arbuthnot who settled in Co. Down in 1745, having eloped with an heiress of the family of Bruce, from Aberdeenshire. My own researches have thrown no light on this individual, but probably he was the progenitor of a line of Arbuthnots of County Down, and afterwards of America.

³ Proved 13th February, 1798.

in Co. Mayo to trustees "on Trust to finish my house of Rockfleet and to divide profits among my younger children, the Revd. Alexander Arbuthnot, Margaret Vesey, Harriet Corkran, Frances Arbuthnot, Robert Arbuthnot, and Thomas Arbuthnot, in equal portions, the rest of my children being sufficiently provided for." He directs that if his son George shall desire to purchase the said house, he shall have the first refusal, and states that "by Marriage Settlement on my present wife, Anne Arbuthnot,¹ she is entitled to a rent charge of £100 per annum."

John Arbuthnot died at Rockfleet, 27th December, 1797, and was buried in Newport Churchyard. His tombstone bears the following inscription:

BENEATH THIS STONE ARE DEPOSITED THE REMAINS OF THE LATE
JOHN ARBUTHNOT ESQRE OF ROCKFLEET CASTLE IN THIS COUNTY
AND FORMERLY OF MITCHAM SURREY IN ENGLAND

DIED ON THE 27TH DECEMBER, 1797,

IN THE 69TH YEAR OF HIS AGE

THIS STONE IS PLACED HERE BY HIS FOURTH SON COL. SIR

ROBERT ARBUTHNOT, K.C.B., OF THE

COLDSTREAM GUARDS.

John Arbuthnot was five times married: first, in 1753, to Sally Margaret Cecil, of the family of John Cecil of Ravensbury, said to have been founder of the Ravensbury printing works. She died in 1759, and was buried at Morden, Surrey, 19th February, that year. He married secondly, in 1760, Ursula Fitzgerald, who died the following year, leaving a son, John, born 1761. She was buried at Morden 12th March, 1761. John Arbuthnot married thirdly, 19th October, 1762, Anne, daughter of Richard Stone of Lombard Street, a London banker. To her issue we shall return. She died in November, 1782, as has been mentioned. John Arbuthnot married fourthly, in 1788, Mrs. Fitzgerald (*née* Helen O'Halloran) of the parish of Holy Trinity, Cork. The date of her death is unknown. In 1791, John Arbuthnot married his fifth and last wife, Anne Elizabeth, daughter of Bickford Heard of Cork, who survived him.

¹ This was his fifth wife, Anne Elizabeth, daughter of Bickford Heard of Cork.

By his second wife, Ursula Fitzgerald, John Arbuthnot had issue—

- I. John, born 28th February, 1761, died in India unmarried.

By his third wife, Anne Stone, he had issue—

- II. George, of the Bengal Civil Service, born 24th July, 1764, to whom we shall return.
- III. Charles (Right Hon.), born 14th March, 1767, of whom presently.
- IV. Alexander (Right Rev.), Bishop of Killaloe, born 7th May, 1768, of whom presently.
- V. Robert (General Sir), K.C.B., born 19th November, 1773, of whom presently. (This Sir Robert, though described on his father's tombstone as "fourth" son, was actually the fifth, though fourth by the third marriage.)
- VI. Thomas (General Sir), K.C.B., born 11th September, 1776, was in the 71st Highlanders. He served through the Peninsular War and was A.D.C. to King George III in 1814. He died unmarried, 26th January, 1849. His career is described at length in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the article being written by his nephew, Sir Alexander John Arbuthnot. Among the papers of his brother, the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot, the following note has been found: "The expiring words of my Brother Sir Tho^s Arbuthnot: He desired to have a clergyman. The Dean attended immediately, and offered up a prayer. He said firmly that he hoped the prayer had been recited by all present, as it ought to be. For himself, he was then ready, as he always had been, to leave the world—that he always intended to do right—that he had never deceived nor injured any man, nor acted from private motives, and that he trusted to be accepted by his Creator."
- I. Anne, born in 1763, married in 1784 Richard Holmes of Prospect, King's County, and died in 1802, leaving issue.



George Arbuthnot of the Bengal Civil Service.

From a painting in grisaille in the possession of Mr. Cecil Lister-Kaye.



Elizabeth Millicent Brisco, wife of George Arbuthnot of the Bengal Civil Service.

From a miniature in the possession of Mr. Cecil Lister-Kaye.

- II. Sarah, born in 1765, married in 1784 Thomas Langley, merchant, of London, and died in 1852.
- III. Margaret, born in 1769, married in 1796 George Vesey of Dublin, barrister-at-law, and died in 1853.
- IV. Harriet, born 1770, married in 1797, as his second wife, Lewis Corkran of the Bombay Council, and had issue.
- V. Frances, born 1773, married, 4th July, 1799, as his first wife, Augustus Smith of Ashlyns Hall, Herts, and died 30th April, 1811.

George Arbuthnot, eldest son of John Arbuthnot of Rockfleet by his third marriage, was born 24th July, 1764. He entered the service of the East India Company, obtaining a writership in October, 1781. In 1793 he became Collector, and in 1795 Judge and Magistrate at Tirhoot. In 1803 he was Judge and Magistrate at Benares, but resigned his posts in 1804-5. He died on board the *Lady Jane Dundas*, East Indiaman, on his way home from India, 5th September, 1805. He married, 20th January, 1796, Elizabeth Millicent,¹ fourth daughter of Major-General Horton Brisco, E.I.C.S., brother of Sir John Brisco, first Baronet, of Crofton, Cumberland.²

¹ A portrait of this lady, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, is in the possession of Mr. Cecil Lister-Kaye of Denby Grange, Yorkshire, as well as the beautiful miniature, believed to be by Andrew Plimer, which has been reproduced at p. 178 of this volume.

² Major-General Horton Brisco was twice married. By his first wife, Maria Howett, whom he married in Calcutta, 4th February, 1769, he had twin daughters, (1) Annabella (died in infancy) and (2) Elizabeth, died later, unmarried. By his second wife, Millicent Jane Banks, whom he married 28th July, 1774, he had issue: (1) Horton Coote (Lieutenant-Colonel), born 1780, married in the parish of St. Marylebone, London, 23rd September, 1815, Susanna Schofeild, and died at St. Germain-en-Laye, 31st December, 1824, leaving issue one daughter, Maria, of whose fate nothing is known; (3) Maria, born 6th November, 1776, married in 1795 James Barton of Penwortham Hall, Lancaster, and had one only daughter, Marion Millicent, who died unmarried; and (4) Elizabeth Millicent, born 22nd April, 1778, married George Arbuthnot.

Some of the old silver at Denby Grange has engraved upon it the Arbuthnot arms, impaling those of Brisco and Hylton. The Briscos of Crofton are an old Cumbrian family, and represent the still more ancient and extinct family of Hylton of Hylton. Catherine Hylton, grandmother of Mrs. George Arbuthnot, and wife of the Rev. John Brisco, D.D., of Crofton, was daughter and co-heiress of John Hylton, Baron of Hylton, and through her and one of her sisters the representation of that family is divided between the present Lord Hylton and Sir Hylton Ralph Brisco, Bart., of Crofton. Though co-heiress of her father,

Mrs. Arbuthnot died 2nd December, 1831, having survived her husband twenty-six years. By her he had issue—

- I. Marion, born 18th July, 1797, at Secunderpore, died young.
- II. Matilda, only surviving daughter and heiress,¹ born at Benares, 21st October, 1803. She married (21st October, 1824) Sir John Lister-Kaye, second Baronet of Denby Grange, Yorkshire, and had, with other issue, a son, Lister, who married in 1852 Lady Caroline Pepys, third daughter of Charles, first Earl of Cottenham, and died in 1855, having had by her two sons—(1) John, the present (third) Baronet, who succeeded his grandfather in 1871; and (2) Cecil Edmund, now of Denby Grange, Yorkshire. Through the marriage of Matilda Arbuthnot, the Lister-Kayes descending from her have the right to quarter the Arbuthnot arms, which, in default of a male heir to her father, pass to them.²

Lady Lister-Kaye was a woman of character and talent. During the many years that she lived at Denby Grange, the old Yorkshire home of Sir John's family, she devoted a great

Catherine Hylton was not co-heiress of the ancient Barony of Hylton, created in 1295 by Writ of Summons to Robert de Hilton of Hilton Castle, and, in a later generation, to Alexander de Hilton, who had summons to Parliament as a Baron in 1332 and 1335. The Barony, as is usual in the case of Baronies by Writ, was heritable by heirs-general, but in each case lasted only a single generation, falling into abeyance among the daughters of the two Barons thus summoned. This, at least, is the account of the matter given in Burke's *Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire*, and it would therefore appear that Robert Surtees, in his *History of the County Palatine of Durham*, published in 1816–1840, was incorrect in suggesting that the Barony of Hylton was then in abeyance between the families of Brisco and Jolliffe. The Hyltons of Hylton bore, during many generations, the provincial title of "Baron," but this, it appears, was accorded to the family by the courtesy of the neighbourhood, and arose from their position as "Barons of the Bishopric"—a designation that did not imply the possession of an hereditary peerage. On 19th July, 1866, Sir William George Hylton Jolliffe, Bart., M.P., was raised to the peerage as Baron Hylton, as "heir representative of the Barons Hylton of Hylton Castle." From him descends the present peer, representing the line of Catherine Hylton's elder sister, Anne.

¹ Although it has sometimes been stated that Mr. George Arbuthnot had also a son, it is the fact that the above two daughters were his only legitimate issue.

² It does not appear, however, that the present Baronet exercises this right, quartering only, according to Burke, the arms of Lister and Kaye.



Lady Lister-Kaye (*née* Arbuthnot), wife of Sir John Lister-Kaye, second Baronet.
From a portrait in the possession of Mr. Cecil Lister-Kaye.

deal of her time to the care of her husband's tenantry, in whose welfare she was deeply interested. Being herself exceptionally well read, she took a great interest in providing educational facilities for her poorer neighbours. She was, besides, a writer, and published in 1840 a small volume in defence of the doctrines of the Church of England, in which she displays an amount of learning quite unusual among the educated women of her day, quoting easily decisions of the Council of Trent, and precepts of Tertullian, Origen, and others among the Fathers. In 1849 she published a novel in two parts, called *British Homes and Foreign Wanderings*, into which she wove a good deal of pleasant local colour from experiences in her own travels.

Lady Lister-Kaye died in London, 4th April, 1867, and was buried in Brompton Cemetery. She had in all fourteen children, only six of whom survived her. She predeceased her husband, who died 13th April, 1871, having married secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. John Bower of Barnston, York.

We now take up the line of the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot, third son of John Arbuthnot of Rockfleet, whose interesting career can, of course, be only lightly touched on here, though he is well deserving of a detailed biography, having been in touch with all the leading persons of his day, both in his own and foreign countries, and having on one occasion been in a position where the eyes of all Europe were turned upon him in anxious interrogation. Suddenly involved in an unprecedented emergency, Mr. Arbuthnot has often been accused of lack of address and firmness in dealing with the startling situation which developed so suddenly in 1806, during his embassy at Constantinople. We shall deal in great detail with that incident, and hope to show some of the difficulties that beset him at that time. A short autobiography in his hand, addressed to his children and written on thirteen sheets of note-paper, is in existence, and was kindly lent me for the purpose of this book by Mrs. Arthur Arbuthnot, widow of his grandson, and this document has been of the greatest assistance in compiling the following account of his life.

Charles Arbuthnot was born 14th March, 1767. As has been mentioned, he was taken when very young from his

parents, who were, perhaps, only too thankful—with their large family and fluctuating fortunes—to transfer the burden of his education and launching on a career to his mother's relations, who took entire charge of him. These were the Stones, a wealthy banking family, two of whose members had risen to distinguished positions in public life—one, George Stone, being Primate of Ireland, and the other, Andrew, having had a successful political career. He had been Under-Secretary of State in the Duke of Newcastle's Government in 1734, had acted as private secretary to George II in 1748, and, on the death of Frederick Prince of Wales, had been installed as tutor to the young heir to the throne, afterwards George III, who always retained a great affection for him. It will be seen, therefore, that the Stones were in a position to be useful to their young relative, who always, very modestly, attributed his advancement in life to their interest.

His parents were little more than names to him. From a letter written by his eldest son many years later, it appears that Charles Arbuthnot stated that he could not remember ever having received a letter from his mother.¹

He was in the first instance sent to his great-uncle, Mr. Andrew Stone, on account of bad health. After he had recovered, it was intended that he should return to his parents.

"The carriage was brought to the door," he writes, "to take me back to my father's.

"Whether it was that I had been treated at my uncle's with great kindness and indulgence, or from what other cause, certain it is that I cried most violently when I had to get into the carriage. Seeing me so unhappy at the thought of going away, it was resolved that I should remain with my uncle; and I did remain with him till his death and with his wife afterwards, till her death.

"My uncle died when I was seven years old. I then went to a private school at Richmond. At that school I stayed till I was twelve years old; and then I was sent to Westminster, and was placed in the fourth form. When I was

¹ He was about fifteen at the time of her death.

fifteen my aunt died. Her picture is over the fireplace in my sitting-room.¹

" . . . After her death I continued with her maiden sister, whose name was Mauvillain, originally a French family. There was also living with her Mrs. Sarah Stone, a sister of my mother.

" I ought here to mention that my great-uncle, Mr. Andrew Stone, left me at his death £3,000, and with a request to his widow to leave more to me at her death, and she did leave me £20,000, which I was to receive at her sister's death.

" I cannot pass over the very great kindness and affection with which, to the day of his death, my great-uncle ever treated me ; and with regard to his widow, my great-aunt, I may truly say that throughout my whole life up to this day I have continued to have her in my mind with unceasing love and affection. She was, indeed, the very kindest of mothers to me.

" I remained at Westminster till I was past seventeen, and then I went to Christchurch, Oxford."

After mentioning his father's failure in business, he continues : " The consequence was that I never saw my mother again, for she died abroad, nor did I see my Brothers and Sisters till they were some of them grown up and till they came to England on their way to Ireland ; where my father was appointed Inspector General of the Linen Trade of that country. So that I never saw my mother after I was a child ; my father I only saw now and then, when he came alone for a short time (a few days) to England, and my brothers and sisters I never saw till some of them were grown up.

" I have said that at seventeen I went to Oxford. I believe I was a pretty good scholar when I left Westminster, at least I remember being told by the Dean that the tutor said I *handled* my Greek well. But alas, and I say it with sorrow and shame, while I was at Oxford, and I remained there four years, I passed my whole time in idleness and amusements. I lived there with a most agreeable set ; but unfortunately it was not the turn of those with whom I associated to read and

¹ Mr. Arbuthnot wrote this account of his life at Woodford, Northamptonshire, in 1849, the year before his death.

study. It was intended that I should be a lawyer. But at the age of twenty-one, I went with the late Duke of Dorset, and with Mr. Tempest, a mutual friend at Ch. Ch., to the continent, and passed some months at Vienna. These months were agreeably passed and in the best society; but I did not return to England better disposed to the severe labour of the Law."

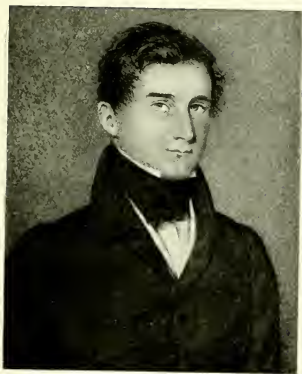
In 1789 Mr. Arbuthnot was in Poland, "passing my time most pleasantly in all the best of the society, and particularly living a great deal with Stanislaus, the last of the Kings of Poland.

"On my return to England I gave up all thought of studying the Law. I became intimately acquainted with men and women of the highest talent and rank, and whose society was delightful. In this manner I continued till I was between twenty-five and twenty-six years of age. I had often misgivings in my own mind and was dissatisfied with the idle life that I was passing.

"The war against France broke out in 1793. I was then too old to think of studying the Law, but I was miserable at the thought of wearing life away in a state of perfect idleness. Therefore, when Lord Paget (now Marquis of Anglesey) got permission to raise a Regiment, the 28th of the line, I desired to have a commission in it; and accordingly I entered as Ensign. But my friends thought that at my age this step of mine was a bad one, and one friend, Mr. John King, being very intimate with Lord Grenville, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, spoke to him and asked whether he could not give me some appointment. Lord Grenville said that the war had added so much to the business of the Office that he had intended to appoint a Précis Writer, and that he would give me the situation if I liked to have it. The salary, he said, would be small, being £300 a year; but that the business to be performed would give me a great fund of information; and would render me fit for higher situations.

"I accepted the offer with great joy. I gave up all thought of the Army. I continued Précis Writer till 1795; and I then went as Chargé des Affaires to Stockholm—was

* In 1795 Mr. Arbuthnot was for a time member for East Looe.



The Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot.

From a miniature in the possession of Mrs. Arthur Arbuthnot.



there till 1797, and then came home on leave. Till 1798 I was in London, unemployed, but then I was sent to Stuttgart to compliment the Grand Duke of Wurtemberg, who had recently married a daughter of our King George the 3rd, and who had just come to the Government of the Duchy on the death of his father. . . .

"I returned to England in 1798; and in the following year I was married to your blessed Mother.' Although I lost her after seven years of the most perfect happiness, time has not had the effect of reconciling me to her loss. To me it was dreadful. To you all it has been a misfortune beyond what I could make known to you. A more perfect creature never breathed. One more fond of her children this world never saw. But on this subject I will say no more."

After a short time in Portugal, as *Chargé d'Affaires*, Mr. Arbuthnot came back to England, his eldest son being born on board ship on the way home, in 1801. He was next (19th May, 1802) appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Sweden, remaining there till 1803, and on 5th June, 1804, he was appointed "His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Sublime Porte."

Mr. Arbuthnot now proceeded to Constantinople with his family, in order to take up his duties there. Among the papers in Mrs. Arthur Arbuthnot's possession is a letter written at this time by the Hon. Mrs. Clapcott-Lisle to her daughter at Constantinople. Mrs. Lisle was then, and had been since 1795, lady-in-waiting to the Princess of Wales—the unfortunate Caroline of Brunswick. Portions of this letter, which is dated from Catherington, 19th August, 1805, give an idea of the Princess's odd manner of life at this time. Mrs Lisle writes :

"I continue, as you will believe, my very dear Marcia, truly impatient for the Happiness of a letter from you. We

* "At Cholmondeley House, Piccadilly, Charles Arbuthnot, Esq., to Miss Lisle, daughter of the Hon. Mrs. Lisle and niece to Lord Cholmondeley."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 23rd February, 1799. The beautiful Marcia Lisle, so well known from the exquisite portrait by Hoppner, which has been twice engraved, was heiress to the estate of Upway, Dorsetshire, sold some years after her death by her husband. The original portrait is now (1920) in the possession of Mr. Wyndham Damer Clark of Tal-y-garn, Glamorganshire.

arrived here on Wednesday at six o'clock, performing sixty-two miles in less than seven hours, which seems scarcely credible to those who do not know the very incautious rate at which H.R.H. ever chuses to be driven. We lead a most fatiguing life, we were out yesterday for eight hours, the time of church was included and also for eating, but the rest was spent in the carriage. We have already broken a spring, and I suppose shall soon break another . . . I wish I was twenty years younger, to enjoy this life, which, as it is, fags me very much. The Cholmondeleys are, I believe, on their way to Cheltenham. I have had a letter from Malpas, who had been ill, but is now better. . . . Perhaps you would like to know what sort of a place this is; it's a very comfortable Gentleman's House, but very retired. However, we are seldom in it. Mr. Hood is fortunately in the Neighbourhood, for, as the Princess has not any male attendant, 'tis fortunate there should be a Gentleman who will take the trouble of attending our flying excursions. . . . Assure Arbuthnot and your children of my warmest affections, accept the same yourself, with every sentiment of tenderness and attachment from your very affectionate Mother,

"H. LISLE."¹

Little can Mr. Arbuthnot have foreseen at this time the thrilling events in which he was soon to play a leading part, and on which the attention of Europe was to be focussed. He was to be called upon to try his strength single-handed against the resourceful diplomacy of Napoleon, and if we have to record a failure, that failure may with some reason be laid at the door of those who sent him instructions to take up a threatening attitude, without affording him, in time, the material support without which mere words were powerless.

¹ The following year it was Mrs. Lisle's fate to be obliged to give evidence at the "Delicate Investigation" ordered by the King into the Princess of Wales' conduct. Although the Princess was found guilty of nothing more than extreme indiscretion, Mrs. Lisle, on being examined, was forced to confess that Her Royal Highness had behaved to a certain Captain Manby "as any woman would who likes flirting." Mrs. Lisle also admitted that "she would not have thought any married woman would have behaved properly who should have behaved as her Royal Highness did to Captain Manby." Coming from a witness of unimpeachable character, these admissions were naturally felt to be very damaging to the Princess, and the Report of the Commissioners took special notice of them, while agreeing in a general exoneration from the more serious charges.

In order to give an intelligible account of his negotiations and their sequel, we must take a brief glance at European politics of that day.

In 1806, when Charles Arbuthnot and his beautiful young wife found themselves established at the Embassy in Constantinople, all Europe was in the throes of the Napoleonic Wars. In every capital, the policy of England was, before all else, to oppose and thwart the far-reaching schemes of Napoleon. Only a few years previously France had seized Egypt from Turkey, but the English victories of the Nile and St. John d'Acre had rendered it untenable, and it had accordingly been evacuated, while, owing to naval supremacy, English influence in the Mediterranean became an established and dominating factor. In expelling the French we had acted as the Allies of Turkey, but it was not unnatural that the Porte—hitherto hostile to France—should shift the base of its policy and begin to look with fear and suspicion on the power whose victorious fleets swept the seas in such close proximity to its own waters. The genius of Napoleon, who lost sight of nothing, discerned a common interest between France and Turkey in the jealousy of England and the distrust of Russia shared by both nations, and although Turkey was at the moment in nominal alliance with Russia and England, and consequently in the camp opposed to France, an unexpected but soon very noticeable *rapprochement* began to spring up between Napoleon and the Porte.

About the time that Charles Arbuthnot was appointed to Constantinople, Napoleon chose as his envoy to that capital General Sebastiani, a man of courage, resource, and great astuteness, who took up his post with explicit instructions to cultivate a good understanding with Turkey and to keep a watchful eye on the projects of Russia and England in those parts.

It was our misfortune to be obliged to oppose ourselves to Turkey at a moment in her history when she was under the rule of perhaps the most enlightened sovereign she has ever known. Selim III had succeeded his uncle, Abdul Hamid, in 1789. He was filled with a noble love of his country, a desire to initiate reforms and to bring Turkey into line with the other European Powers, but the wars with Russia,

Austria, and France left him very little time for his beneficent schemes. He loved and pitied his people, and before his accession had read and studied much. He often acted as Haroun Al Raschid centuries before in Bagdad, and wandered in disguise through his capital at night, listening to casual conversations and trying to make himself acquainted with the needs and grievances of all classes of his subjects. It is to be regretted that Mr. Arbuthnot has left us no notes regarding the personality of Selim III. As England's Ambassador, policy necessitated his being thrown into antagonism with the Turkish ruler, and it cannot, of course, be pretended that Selim was free from the cruelties and prejudices of an oriental despot. The constant menace of foreign invasion and internal revolution unnerved and bewildered Selim, leading him sometimes into headstrong and despotic action. But he was made for better things, and certainly had a real wish to benefit his unhappy country. Almost alone among the Sultans, he seems to have aimed at a higher ideal than mere despotism. When he fell at last, deposed by the janissaries and afterwards murdered on the eve of his rescue—he accepted his fate with the dignity of a noble soul, and spent the brief interval between his imprisonment and death in calmly discussing with his young relative, Mahmoud, afterwards Sultan, the principles of government and his own misfortunes and mistakes, none of which was ever forgotten by Mahmoud, who, many years later, succeeded in putting an end to the power of the janissaries for ever.

To return to Mr. Arbuthnot. On 24th May, 1806, he had the anguish of losing his young wife, and found himself left with the care of four small children at a moment when public events urgently called for his whole attention.¹

On this sad occasion Mrs. Lisle wrote as follows to her son-in-law, her letter being dated from East Moulsey, 2nd July, 1806 :

¹ "30th June, 1806. At Constantinople, in child-bed, the lady of Mr. Arbuthnot, the British Minister at that Court."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1806. This tragedy is referred to by Baron Prévost in the *Revue Contemporaine* for 1854, where he writes as follows: "*Le ministre d'Angleterre, M. Arbuthnot, avait plus d'honorabilité que d'énergie. Alors en proie à un violent chagrin domestique par la perte d'une femme digne de tous ses regrets, il quitta, six mois plus tard, les affaires pour ne plus les reprendre,*" etc.



Marcia Clapcott-Lisle, first wife of the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot, with her four children.
From a miniature in the possession of Mrs. Arthur Arbuthnot.



" MY DEAR SON,

" Under this our most severe privation, I trust it may be some relief to your afflicted mind, to know that it has pleased the Almighty to grant me an humble submission to his correction, with fortitude enough to hope I may be of assistance to you in the care of your infant family, being supported by the idea that in contributing every aid and exertion in my power to them and you, I should best fulfil the will of our ever-to-be-lamented Angel. I am waiting with watchful anxiety for intelligence of the health of you and the dear children, and when I trust I may have the comfort to find you have anticipated the sincerity of my expressions by informing me what are your intentions, if I [*sic*] wish I should go to you and bring any of your children to England, or if you are returning I can but repeat that I am ready to be of any use in my power. I have written to you by the post, of which this is nearly a copy. My head is too confused to add more than that I remain your

" Affectionate mother,

" H. LISLE."

We must now, once more, take up the thread of public events.

On the arrival of General Sebastiani in August, 1806, Selim received him with every demonstration of joy. Austerlitz had stupefied Europe the year before, and Selim, much perplexed to choose between the not altogether disinterested offers of friendship of the various Powers, had now definitely decided on an alliance with France.

Sebastiani was received with exaggerated honours. He was allowed the unusual favour of presenting himself in arms before the Sultan, was presented with some magnificent horses by the Grand Vizier and the Reis Effendi, while a country house was placed at his disposal for the summer months—all which favours were quite unprecedented. A more disquieting move on the part of the Porte was the sudden dismissal of the hospodars (or governors) of Moldavia and Wallachia, who had, in 1802, been guaranteed in their offices for seven years by treaty with Russia, and who were with some reason

believed to be in Russian pay and acting as Russian agents in those regions.

This precipitate action had immediate and serious results. The Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, M. Italinski, protested vigorously, supported by Mr. Arbuthnot, acting in the interests of England. The latter wrote to Mr. Fox from Buyukderé, 25th August, 1806, and, after commenting on "the disrespect with which Russia has been treated," went on to say: "As no accusation whatever has been brought against either of the Hospodars who are now removed, there can be no excuse for breaking the Convention; by which it was stipulated with Russia that seven years should be the period of each Prince's government. You will probably expect to hear that this measure originated with the French Ambassador, in effect there are proofs sufficient that it is his work."

On 29th September, M. Italinski, having received instructions from St. Petersburg, addressed the Porte in threatening terms. He protested against the violation of the treaty of 1802. He demanded the immediate re-instatement of the two hospodars, declaring that unless the request were at once complied with, he should instantly ask for his passports.

The Porte, thrown into a panic, at first vacillated helplessly, returning evasive answers, but shortly after began half-hearted preparations for war. The treasuries were empty, the fortified positions had deteriorated and were ill-guarded, the troops were few and badly organized. Selim wished to avoid war. The dreadful position of his country, surrounded by nations armed to the teeth, whose overtures were accompanied by threats and ultimatums, allowed him only the privilege of deciding with which of his powerful neighbours he would fight. He inclined to friendship with France as having, for the moment, no particular designs upon Turkey and no conflicting ambitions with her, and above whose armies hovered the prestige of Austerlitz. Selim seems to have been lacking in firmness and steadfastness of purpose. Baron Prévost says of him: "*Son cœur était bon, son esprit juste, son intelligence vive et portée à améliorer la condition de ses peuples. C'était beaucoup, sans doute, mais l'absence totale*

de caractère rendit ses vertus inutiles à l'Empire et funestes à lui-même."

On 15th October, the Porte, yielding to the pressure of the Russian and English Ambassadors, restored the hospodars to their posts, to the indignation of Sebastiani, who exclaimed: "This is the most shameful submission it is possible to meet with in the annals of this Empire!" He demanded an audience of the Sultan. This was refused him by the Reis Effendi.

The English and Russian influence had momentarily triumphed. But not for long. The policy of Turkey, weakened and torn by internal dissensions, was always to give way to the strongest Power. External events therefore had a powerful influence on her diplomacy. The news of the battle of Jena, in which Napoleon was again victorious, produced a revulsion of feeling in Constantinople. A letter from Napoleon to Selim held out the warmest promises of support. He would not, he said, restore Berlin and Warsaw until the Sultan's authority in Wallachia and Moldavia had been firmly re-established. Selim wrote in reply a letter full of the most cordial and flowery expressions of friendship: "*Depuis longtemps notre désir tendait à ce que les fruits salutaires de l'arbre de l'amitié si heureusement planté dans nos cœurs, vinssent enfin orner le plateau du grand jour,*" etc.¹

Selim flattered himself that he had so well controlled the situation that, while satisfying the demands of Russia, he could retain the friendship of France. But either the Emperor Alexander was not to be baulked of his designs on Turkey, or else, as Mr. Arbuthnot suggests in his autobiography, the news of the re-instatement of the two hospodars arrived too late. This was, at any rate, the explanation given later by Russia, who, however, did not change her policy when (on 4th November) the news of the Turkish concessions reached St. Petersburg. She declared herself still dissatisfied, demanded free passage for Russian warships into the Bosphorus, and required an instant renewal of the former treaty between England, Russia and Turkey.

Meanwhile, the Russian troops had crossed the Dniester and occupied several important towns, without the formality

¹ *La Politique Orientale de Napoléon, 1806-1808*, by Edouard Driault, Paris, 1904.

of a declaration of war or a withdrawal of the Russian Ambassador, whose position was now extremely difficult and by no means without danger. Having no instructions, he endeavoured to explain away the invasion as best he could, representing that the Russian armies could only have crossed the frontier as the friends and protectors of Turkey.

Poor, harassed Selim probably knew well the meaning of such "protection." Similar favours were offered him on all sides with embarrassing persistence. It required a firmer hand than his to guide the barque of State through these troubled waters with success. In the face of this emergency, he hesitated and vacillated painfully.

It is clear that Mr. Arbuthnot also found the situation difficult and embarrassing. On the 13th December he addressed a letter to the Dragoman of the Porte,* in which he speaks of "the disagreeable intelligence which has reached me of the circumstances which have occurred between the troops of the Sublime Porte and those of Russia. . . ."

"Since I wrote to you," he continues, "I have had a conversation on this subject with Chevalier Italinski. He regrets as much as I do this lamentable event. . . . In the situation, however, in which we find ourselves placed, being hitherto totally unacquainted with the motives of the incursion of the Russian troops, we can at this moment . . . do no more than lament the interruption of the good understanding which existed between the Sublime Porte and her Allies."

He suggests that "the entrance of the Russians must therefore . . . be regarded solely as a measure directed towards the security of the Sublime Porte, and the unfortunate event of which you apprized me . . . can only be attributed to one of those instances of misunderstanding which no human prudence can prevent." He admits that it is natural that the Porte should be "extremely dissatisfied." He strongly advises, for the present, "no indication of displeasure with Russia," and speaks of England as Turkey's "faithful Ally."

The Russian invasion, however, was a fact, and no words could explain it away. Public indignation was extreme, and the population of Constantinople was now intensely excited. Only the intervention of the French Ambassador himself

* *The Times*, 5th March, 1807.

prevented M. Italinski from being seized and flung into the Seven Towers. On the 24th of December, Turkey declared war on Russia, and the Ambassador, going on board an English ship, was conveyed to Tenedos.

Mr. Arbuthnot was now left alone to grapple with the situation as best he could. On 23rd January, 1807, he received instructions from his Government to demand the instant dismissal of the French Ambassador and the immediate satisfaction of the "just demands" of Russia. He was notified at the same time that a naval force was being prepared, and that a squadron would be sent to Constantinople to give weight to and "if necessary to enforce" acquiescence in his demands. He was directed, "as a rupture appears but too probable," to take all necessary precautions "for the safety of British merchants against injury."

Mr. Arbuthnot immediately asked for a conference with the Turkish ministers, which took place on the 25th January. This interview lasted four hours, and Mr. Arbuthnot reported to Lord Howick¹ that "the Ottoman ministers were so amazed and dejected that they did not utter a single word which is worth repeating to your Lordship."

Mr. Arbuthnot warned the Porte of the approaching arrival of a British squadron, added that he should prepare the British merchants for their departure, and obtained a solemn promise that if necessary they (as had been the case with the Russians) should have firmans to pass the Dardanelles unmolested. A small squadron of British ships was at that moment at the entrance to the Dardanelles, waiting for reinforcements, while the frigate *Endymion* was at anchor before Constantinople. The despatch in which Mr. Arbuthnot described this interview, with other important enclosures, was to have left Constantinople on 27th January, and with that purpose he sent his interpreter to the Reis Effendi to ask for the customary passport for the messenger who was to take it. About five o'clock in the afternoon he was told that he could not have one that day, and that "the Reis Effendi seemed to dislike my transmitting any despatches to England, as my writing so

¹ Charles, Viscount Howick, afterwards second Earl Grey, was Foreign Secretary at this time. Grenville's ministry of "All the Talents" was in office, and was singularly unfortunate in its foreign policy in every part of the world.

immediately after my conference, and before I had an answer from the Porte, gave ground for apprehension that I was not inclined to an amicable termination of our differences.

“Not having at the moment any idea that the Porte could really intend decidedly to refuse a firman, I had no scruple in authorizing Mr. Pisani to assure the Reis Effendi in writing, and to give my word of honour for the truth of what he was to advance, that I could not delay sending a messenger to your Lordship, as I had several despatches to transmit, which had been prepared before the arrival of the late instructions from England; and that, with respect to those instructions, I had merely informed my Government of what had passed at our conference, but that I had scrupulously avoided to give any opinion as to the nature of the answer which I was expecting to receive. I was anxious to make it clear to the Porte that I had not acted so unfairly as to prejudge the question; and your Lordship will in fact have seen that I confined myself to a bare statement of what had passed, without venturing to form a conjecture whether the demands I had made would be agreed to or refused.

“Mr. Pisani wrote that evening to the Reis Effendi, and very early in the morning of the 28th he went to the Porte for the purpose of renewing his application for a firman, and with the hope that the explanatory letter which I had enabled him to write, would certainly have removed every difficulty.

“It did not appear, however, that my assurances had produced the desired effect. The Reis Effendi could not continue to allege the same excuse for delaying to deliver the firman, but now he took another ground, and after keeping Mr. Pisani waiting at the Porte the whole of the day, he at last did not scruple to say, that in the actual state of affairs it would be extremely embarrassing for the Porte if I held a communication with the Admiral of the British squadron.

“It might, he observed, be my intention to write in such terms to the Admiral as would cause hostilities against the Porte, and as I had declared in my conference that the strictest union existed between His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, measures might be taken, in consequence of my letters, for the fleets of the two Nations to attempt in concert the passage of the Dardanelles.”

Although there was nothing in Mr. Arbuthnot's correspondence on which such a sinister interpretation could be placed, it cannot be denied that the Porte had, more or less, rightly gauged the situation. The intention was that if the Turkish reply were unsatisfactory, Constantinople should be forthwith bombarded, and it is superfluous to remark that no such attack could be made unless the Dardanelles were first forced. Part of the Russian fleet was then cruising in the Mediterranean, adding to the menace on that side. As early as the 22nd November, 1806, an order marked *Most Secret* was despatched from the Admiralty to Lord Collingwood, then at Cadiz, containing directions as to "measures to be taken in the present situation of affairs in the Levant." His orders were to detach a squadron immediately, to proceed to Turkish waters, and, if Mr. Arbuthnot's negotiations should fail, "to act offensively against Constantinople."¹

The ultimatum to be presented to Turkey by the Admiral in charge of this expedition was far in advance of any demands yet made by Mr. Arbuthnot, for the order ran that the Admiral should require the "immediate surrender of the Turkish fleet, together with that of a supply of naval stores from the Arsenal sufficient for its equipment; and he is to accompany his demand with a menace, in case of refusal, of immediately commencing hostilities against the town."

Every precaution was to be taken for the security of Mr. Arbuthnot, and stress is laid on the necessity of either destroying or gaining possession of the Turkish fleet.

The orders given by Lord Collingwood to Admiral Duckworth, also marked *Most Secret*, were equally explicit. If, after launching his threat to destroy the town, any negotiations should "be proposed by the Turkish Government, as such proposition will probably be to gain time for preparing their resistance, or securing their ships," it was recommended that "no negotiation should be continued more than half an hour."

We must return to Mr. Arbuthnot at Constantinople. He found himself in a most uncomfortable and isolated position,

¹ These quotations and extracts from the Admiralty instructions are quoted from the *Papers respecting Austria, Denmark, the Ottoman Porte, etc., presented to Parliament by His Majesty's Command*, 1808.

cut off from communication with his Government and in danger of being no longer able to report to it or to receive its instructions. Present to his mind must have been the example of the French envoy, Ruffin, who, on the outbreak of war between France and Turkey in 1798, had been seized and flung into the Seven Towers, regardless of international law. He had with him his four young children, the eldest not over six years old. He determined to make one more attempt to get his despatch taken through to the British ships waiting under Admiral Louis at Tenedos. "There was not a moment's time to be lost," he writes to Lord Howick, "... going immediately to Captain Capel,* who happened fortunately to be in my house, I desired him to acquaint the Officer who was to carry my despatches with the critical situation of affairs; and to give him orders to wait till it was dark, and then to set off for the Dardanelles without a firman.

"I had hopes that the officer, by taking this precaution, might be able to reach the squadron without being detained, and I have been happy to learn since that I was not deceived in my expectation."

Mr. Arbuthnot now addressed to the Porte another letter of remonstrance, asking whether the refusal of a passport to his courier had been owing to some mistake, or whether anything of the sort could ever happen again? At the same time he declared that it would be impossible for him to remain at Constantinople if passports for his messengers were refused.

In the meantime he was informed, from various quarters, that the Porte, influenced "by the news of a great defeat which was said to have been suffered by the Russians on the 22nd December," had at last come to a definite decision to treat the British demands with contempt. And, further, "that the intention was to seize the *Endymion* and to thwart the operations of His Majesty's Government, by keeping me and the British Factory as hostages."

Mr. Arbuthnot goes on to relate that the Porte was evidently making preparations to defend the Straits, and, under General Sebastiani's advice, was stationing ships where they could be

* Captain the Hon. Thomas Bladen Capel, afterwards Vice-Admiral of the Blue, was the fifth son of William, fourth Earl of Essex.

best employed for conducting hostilities, while preparations were going forward for improving the land fortifications.

He continues : " Although I had so many and such strong reasons for mistrusting the Porte, and although Captain Capel had begun to be extremely alarmed for the safety of the *Endymion*, it was not till about nine o'clock in the morning of the 29th January that I formed my resolution of endeavouring to quit Pera. I had not long resolved to do it before I learnt from a person who was not likely to deceive me, that, according to the information I had already received, we were all of us really to be detained as hostages ; and as Mr. Pisani came soon afterwards to inform me that he could neither obtain a firman nor an answer to my note, the Reis Effendi not having been prevailed upon to do more than to direct him to call again on the ensuing day ; I had no doubt remaining as to the propriety of my retiring from a post where I was not allowed the means of doing my duty to my Sovereign."

A letter from Admiral Louis to Lord Collingwood, dated 5th February, furnishes a few details as to Mr. Arbuthnot's last hours in Constantinople, and his reasons for breaking off relations with the Porte. " His Excellency," he writes, " was obliged to have recourse to these measures, from having privately understood on good authority that it was the intention of the Turkish Government to seize the frigate, his person and the persons of all the British merchants, as hostages, that no attempts should be made against them by our forces ; and it is understood that they intended, should our fleet attempt to fire on their forts or capital, that their hostages should all suffer death, under circumstances of the most severe torture that malice could invent, of which an instance occurred too horrid to describe on the day the Ambassador had his last conference with the Porte : A Greek Prince, of eighty years of age, the father of the Hospodar of Wallachia (now with the Russian Army) was put to death after suffering long and excruciating tortures ; and it may be supposed that the particular moment of the Ambassador's audience was chosen to intimidate him in the performance of his duty, but his firm and dignified conduct baffled all their expectations."

Although he had made up his mind to go, it was not altogether easy to put this plan into execution. The strictest

secrecy had to be observed, and not the smallest preparation for a journey made. Mr. Arbuthnot told no one of his intention except Captain Capel of the *Endymion*, in which ship he proposed to leave, and one other Englishman, to whom he confided the task of summoning all the British merchants to meet him on board the *Endymion*, ostensibly for a social gathering. "I had to provide for the security of the British merchants, and I had also to convey my own family on board of ship, without suspicion being given of what I was intending."

When he "had reason to believe that every British subject was already gone to the *Endymion*," Mr. Arbuthnot went on board himself, with his children, "and had the satisfaction to find that not a single person was missing."

He briefly explained to them the reason for his action and his intention to convey them all through to the safe protection of the British ships, and relates that the merchants, who could remember the treatment of the French merchants during the former war, "seemed to be unanimously of opinion that I had acted properly." This seems to contradict the French Ambassador's assertion that there was a loud outcry on board the *Endymion* when Mr. Arbuthnot's plan was made known and the merchants informed that none of them could be allowed to return to land.*

Mr. Arbuthnot addressed a parting letter to the Reis Effendi, in which he remarked that free communication with his Government having been denied him, he could not "consider himself any longer as being in a Country which wishes to preserve the relations of friendship with his Majesty. . . . He has therefore been forced to the resolution of repairing to the British fleet anchored off Tenedos, where he can find the

* We must notice that Lord Broughton, who seems to have collected his facts from an eye-witness, gives the following account of the scene on board the *Endymion*: "As they were sitting at coffee after nightfall in the cabin, they found the ship under weigh. Her cables had been cut. The assurance that they had been saved from certain destruction did not prevent the merchants, who had left their counting-houses open, and even their papers exposed, from earnestly entreating to be allowed to land and abide the event. . . ." Doubtless both these accounts can be reconciled. There must at first have been not only consternation, but a certain amount of resentment on the part of the merchants, but after hearing a full explanation of Mr. Arbuthnot's reasons for his action, they probably came round to the view that the ruse he had adopted was more than justified.—See *Travels in Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey, 1809-10*, by Lord Broughton, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 511. John Murray, London, 1855.

security which is refused to him here, and it will rejoice him if the Sublime Porte should send him such an answer to the demands he made in the conference of the 25th instant, as will permit his again returning to his post." Mr. Arbuthnot also adds that the Porte will be held responsible for the property of the English merchants, and his own effects, as well as those at the Embassy belonging to his Britannic Majesty. This note, dated 29th January, he left with one of his servants, who had orders not to deliver it till the following morning.

"At nine o'clock at night, when it was so dark that our departure was not likely to be perceived, Captain Capel ordered his cables to be cut. . . . After having had some reason to apprehend that the Captain Pacha, who was with the Turkish fleet, might attempt to detain us, we had the satisfaction to find that our salutes were returned; and shortly after, it being early in the morning of the 31st January, we anchored in the midst of his Majesty's squadron, which, instead of removing to Tenedos as was intended, had been unexpectedly obliged to remain at the Dardanelles."

Great was the sensation caused at Constantinople the following day, when it became known that the British Ambassador had withdrawn to the fleet. The Porte at once expressed the most unbounded astonishment at his action. No reason for such a departure could possibly occur to the innocent-minded Turkish ministers. They immediately sent out a circular note to all the ministers of foreign Powers resident in Constantinople. In this they asserted that "Mr. Arbuthnot, having in a conference held five or six days ago, made some strange propositions, the Turkish Ministers in their answer limited themselves to saying, that the Sublime Porte at this present epoch was at war with Russia and at peace with Great Britain." They alleged that after their conference he presented a note to which he demanded an answer in writing, and that while this was under consideration, "he all of a sudden, without sending advice, and without the cause being known, embarked in an English frigate which was in the harbour at the time, and taking his people and some merchants with him, left Constantinople and absented himself in the middle of the night, by cutting and leaving the ship's anchor behind; a conduct which has created much astonishment." They

went on to say that it was notorious that the safety of the British Ambassador and other British subjects had never been in question, and that all their property and dependents would be protected, while the effects of the Ambassador himself would be consigned to the care of the Danish *Chargé d'Affaires*, M. Hubsh.

The fact that the *Endymion* had been allowed to pass unchallenged is thus commented upon by Mr. Arbuthnot: "I cannot help considering it was most fortunate that Sir Thomas Louis was still in sight of the Turkish ships, as I much doubt whether otherwise we should have been allowed to pass without molestation."

The squadron now removed to Tenedos, Mr. Arbuthnot being most anxious that this movement should not be delayed, being "desirous that nothing which could be construed into an hostile intention should appear to be the consequence of my arrival." On the 11th February the squadron under Admiral Duckworth arrived from Malta, and Captain the Hon. Henry Blackwood writes to Lord Castlereagh¹ on 12th February: "Yesterday we reached this island, where we found Mr. Arbuthnot, who had been obliged to quit Constantinople so suddenly in the *Endymion* frigate with the English Factory, as to leave behind everything but what he and his children had on them."

The combined squadrons now amounted to eight ships of the line, two frigates and two bomb vessels. On the night of the 14th February the *Ajax*, Captain Blackwood's ship, was accidentally destroyed by fire, 252 lives being lost. Admiral Duckworth was therefore left with only seven ships of the line, with which to attempt an enterprise believed till that time to be absolutely impossible.

That Mr. Arbuthnot had rightly interpreted the wishes of his Government in leaving Constantinople is shown by the fact that instructions, dated from Downing Street, 20th November, 1806, were at that moment on their way to him—though he did not receive them till after his arrival in Malta a few weeks later—containing the following explicit directions:

¹ *Correspondence, Despatches and Other Papers of Viscount Castlereagh*, edited by his brother, Charles William Vane, Marquis of Londonderry, 1851, vol. vi. pp. 157-8.

" But if this satisfaction should unfortunately be refused, or improperly delayed, you will deliver in a note recapitulating the complaints which his Majesty has to urge against the Porte, and declaring your mission to be at an end ; and taking care, as far as may be possible, to secure the persons and property belonging to it, as well as to the British factory, you will retire on board the fleet, or to a place of safety, and immediately signify to the British Admiral that hostilities are to commence."

Mr. Arbuthnot, who had by no means given up hope of a peaceful solution to the difficulty, now at once opened negotiations with the Capitan Pacha, and on 13th February went on board his ship, where a long and perfectly friendly interview took place, but no agreement was reached. Mr. Arbuthnot insisted that the British squadron must pass up the Dardanelles, in conformity with the orders of his Government, but laid stress on the point that they would not necessarily go as enemies, and that their action would depend on the attitude adopted towards them by the Porte. The Capitan Pacha, on the other hand, claimed that his orders did not allow him to agree to the passage of the squadron unhindered through the Straits, and that " he should have to answer with his head for having presumed to disobey the Sultan's orders." He also remarked that the French army had marched rapidly towards the Dniester, and this obliged the Porte to be more cautious than heretofore in her negotiations, as any appearance of a *rapprochement* with England and Russia might result in Buonaparte's invading Turkey.

" I wish much that the Capitan Pacha had been invested with discretionary powers to treat with me," wrote Mr. Arbuthnot, " his Highness says he has none such. He therefore must obey the orders of his Sovereign, and we must be equally obedient to the orders of ours."

The immediate forcing of the Dardanelles was therefore decided upon, and the concluding words in Mr. Arbuthnot's letter to Lord Howick of 14th February show that he underestimated neither the difficulties nor the dangers likely to be met with. After pointing out that the Turks, ever since the war with Russia, had been strengthening their defences, he adds : " I mention this, because it is not unlikely that there

may be a failure in some of the objects which we have in view. This apprehension, however, would have no effect on the decision of the Admiral, or, if I may say so, on that of myself. Our Sovereign and his Ally had been greatly injured. A powerful fleet has been sent to secure those interests which had been endangered; and though the passage of the Dardanelles in its present fortified state cannot be undertaken without great risk, any probable loss would in my opinion be preferable to that dishonour which would be attached to his Majesty's arms if a menace had been made, which in the day of trial we had not dared to act upon."

Captain Blackwood had thus described the project in a letter to Lord Castlereagh of the 2nd February: "Tomorrow we sail . . . to attempt to force the passage of the Dardanelles, hitherto considered as impassable, push up to Constantinople, and there endeavour not only to awe the Porte into concessions to Russia, but to give us up her navy to take care of till we have a peace with France, and to send Sebastiani away from Constantinople,—terms which I cannot see how so limited a force as we have ought to expect to obtain, particularly as we have not a land-troop to take possession of and hold the forts in the Dardanelles, or a single resource within ourselves more than cruising ships usually have. . . . It is, however, our duty, whether we succeed or not, to make the attempt," etc.¹

That a considerable amount of misgiving was felt by the Admiral himself is quite clear. In his letter to Lord Collingwood of the 14th February he emphasises the difficulties in the following terms: "Of the hazard which attends such an enterprise, I am most fully aware. We are to enter a sea environed with enemies, without a possible resource but in ourselves; and when we are to return, there cannot remain a doubt but that the passage will be rendered as formidable as the efforts of the Turkish Empire, directed and assisted by

¹ Lord Londonderry writes: "I believe it may be said that never was a force, naval or military, destined for a service of such peril and importance, abandoned with such improvidence to the caprice of chance, or despatched with such neglect of all the means calculated to afford a prospect of success to its exertions, as the little squadron sent on this occasion to awe imperial Turkey, and to work a change in the counsels of her rulers."—*Correspondence, Despatches and Other Papers of Viscount Castlereagh*, edited by his brother, Charles William Vane, third Marquess of Londonderry, 1851, vol. vi. pp. 149–150.

their allies the French, can make it. I intreat your Lordship, however, to believe that as I am aware of the difficulties we have to encounter, so I am resolved that nothing on my part be left undone that can ensure of our surmounting them."

From Captain Blackwood's account, it appears that the Admiral was in fact very doubtful about the wisdom of proceeding forward at all, and he states that had it not been for Mr. Arbuthnot's resolution, it might never have been attempted. But the latter declared that after the threats he had been instructed to make to the Porte "it would be more for the credit of England the whole should perish in the attempt, than that it should not be attempted," and this, accordingly, determined Sir John Duckworth.

On the morning of the 19th February a fair wind from the South-west enabled the Admiral to weigh anchor and start on the momentous journey up the Dardanelles. So anxious was Mr. Arbuthnot to show the pacific intentions of himself and his Government, that at his special request orders were given that should the Turkish forts open fire on the squadron during its passage, no response should in the first instance be made. By a quarter to nine the whole of the squadron—consisting of seven ships of the line, two frigates and two fire ships—had passed the outer Castles, which opened fire, though without much effect. The English withheld their fire, or, as M. Driault more picturesquely puts it,^{*} "*Les Anglais ne répondirent point et disparurent au nord dans la fumée de la cannonade ottomane.*"

The current in the Dardanelles—the Hellespont of the ancient world—is very strong, running, says Mr. Sutherland Menzies, at the rate of 5,560 metres an hour. The Black Sea, which receives the waters of twenty great rivers, has its one outlet through the narrow Bosphorus and on past the Dardanelles, and, as may be supposed, the volume of water driven through the channels is immense.

At 9.30 the first ships, under Sir Thomas Louis, entered the narrow passage of Sestos and Abydos, where the Straits are only a mile wide, coming under a very heavy fire from the Castles of Europe and Asia at close range. Admiral Louis no longer held his fire. His ships responded briskly

^{*} *Politique Orientale de Napoléon*, by Edouard Driault, p. 95.

and passed on with only moderate damage. Once beyond the Castles, the Admiral found himself face to face with a Turkish squadron, with which he immediately engaged. Owing to the celebration of the Feast of Beirum, the Turkish fleet was poorly manned, most of the crews being ashore in the mosques, and "in half an hour the Turks had all cut their cables to run on shore. The object of the Rear-Admiral was then to destroy them, which was most rapidly effected, as, in less than four hours, the whole of them had exploded, except a small corvette and a gunboat, which it was thought proper to preserve." * Admiral Duckworth also refers to the stone shot used by the Turks, "some of which exceed 800 lb. weight," which, however, did comparatively little damage. The complete destruction of the Turkish squadron was undoubtedly an important initial success—"a service which was certainly very quickly and neatly performed, in the narrowest part of the Dardanelles," writes Captain Blackwood. "We were under fire from each fort as we passed it," writes Mr. Arbuthnot in his Autobiography, "for eight hours. We destroyed all the forts, and the Turkish fleet also, which had been stationed to oppose us." "*Les Anglais attaquèrent,*" writes M. Driault, "*irrités de quelques boulets qu'ils avaient reçus, et 'commettant un de ces crimes dont cette nation seul est capable,' ils brûlèrent six bâtiments, un vaisseau de 74 et cinq belles frégates ; un seul, un petit brick, put s'échapper et gagner Constantinople.*" M. Driault's quotation is from the *Moniteur* of 15th April, 1807. A few pages later he quotes a contemporary, apparently an eye-witness of the scene, who asks, with regard to the English, "*Peut-on habiter le monde avec des brigands semblables ?*"

Meanwhile the news of the destruction of the Turkish squadron threw Constantinople into consternation. The road to the capital lay open. The other half of the Turkish fleet was at the northern end of the Bosphorus, unable to offer any protection. Despair and panic reigned, while the British, after a brief pause of two hours in the Sea of Marmora, during which time reports from the various ships were received and a council of war held, set their course northwards, and at

* Admiral Duckworth's Report to Lord Collingwood, dated off Constantinople, 21st February, 1807.—Papers presented to Parliament by his Majesty's command, 1808.

ten o'clock in the evening of 20th February anchored opposite Constantinople, close to Princes Islands, which are about eight miles distant from the town.

Mr. Arbuthnot had always believed that the mere appearance of the fleet would have the requisite moral effect without a recourse to bombardment, to which he was much disinclined, except as a last resource. Certainly his expectations were amply justified at first. The sight of the hostile fleet in their sacred waters filled the unfortunate Turks with terror. Panic reigned in the Seraglio. All night, says M. Driault, nothing was heard but the screams of women and the cries of the slaves, and he surmises that these sounds must have brought joy to the ears of the English—if indeed they can have been audible at a distance of eight miles? *

The Turks were stupefied, and Admiral Duckworth had some reason to believe that his objective was attained. Sebastiani also, for a short time, lost heart. "*L'effroi des Turcs ne peut se peindre*," he wrote to Talleyrand, "*ils ne songent qu' à transiger et à obtenir avec des bassesses des conditions plus douces. Les batteries que je me suis efforcé de faire faire ne sont pas achevées, et j'ai l'air d'être ici le seul intéressé à la défense de la ville. Votre Excellence ne peut se faire une idée de l'insouciance qui a régné jusqu'ici : à cette insouciance invincible a succédé la crainte.*" *

* M. Driault is certainly far from pleased with British policy on this occasion. He is especially bitter over the fact that advantage was taken of the feast of Beirum to press the offensive. Far be it from the present writer to discuss the ethics of warfare, but perhaps it may be remarked that one does not easily visualize the great Napoleon, war having once been decided upon, waiting respectfully till the Feast of Beirum was over before opening hostilities. Where Turkey was concerned, there is very little to choose between the policies of the various Powers who hemmed her in by sea or land. If Turkey is to be called to account for massacres of Christians, ill-treatment of subject races, torturing of prisoners, etc., then, in fairness, Christendom must also stand at the bar and answer an indictment that is only a few degrees less formidable. We may observe that France seized Egypt from Turkey in 1798, without a declaration of war. Russia, as we have seen, invaded Turkey, also without declaring war, in 1806. England forced the Dardenelles in 1807 under similar conditions. France, moreover, abandoned Turkey at the peace of Tilsit later in the same year. We may ask why, if the great Christian Powers honestly desired to see the birth of a reformed Turkey, they did not encourage (instead of distracting with continual warfare on one pretext or another) one of the best-intentioned Sultans who ever mounted the bloodstained steps of the Turkish throne?

* *Politique Orientale de Napoléon*, by Edouard Driault, pp. 95-6.

Constantinople seemed to be at the mercy of the British, and it is not too much to say that but for the personality of the French Ambassador, the incident would have ended in the complete triumph of England and Russia.

Admiral Duckworth's first communication with the shore, dated 21st February, was as peremptory as his orders enjoined and as the situation seemed to justify. He demanded the instant dismissal of the French Ambassador, free passage for Russian ships through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, the handing over of the Turkish fleet with stores and equipment for the period of the war, and the surrender of the forts in the Dardanelles. He pointed out that he had abstained from returning the fire of the outer forts, though "it is impossible for the Vice-Admiral to express the extent of his chagrin when he saw himself attacked the day before yesterday in a hostile manner by the outermost castles of the Sublime Porte, when he was performing the duty imposed upon him of passing the Dardanelles." He goes on to say that on reaching the inner castles he saw himself compelled to answer force with force, and calls attention to the fact that the French flag was floating above the Castle of Abydos. He states that he is "under the necessity of declaring to the Sublime Porte that having it in his power to destroy the capital and all the Turkish vessels," he will proceed to extremities unless a satisfactory answer is received, though he "will feel the utmost reluctance to render so many persons completely miserable by the horrors of war."

Two other letters to the same effect were sent ashore that day. Meanwhile, at Constantinople, terror still held sway. On the evening of the previous day, while the British fleet was approaching, the Sultan, completely unnerved, had sent an urgent message to Sebastiani, imploring him to leave the city. He protested his friendship for France, but excused his action by his necessity and the unexampled peril in which his capital lay. He also said that the people blamed Sebastiani for the war, and that he could hardly answer for the latter's life.

Although Sebastiani was privately making hurried preparations for departure, burning all his papers with such haste that his marriage contract was destroyed among them, yet

he received the Sultan's messenger in state, surrounded by all his officers and secretaries, and replied haughtily that "he was at Constantinople by the command of his Sovereign, and that he should only quit it by the same command, unless he were driven out by force." At the same time he aptly pointed out that at the worst Admiral Duckworth could only burn a portion of the city, but that having no army with him to conduct land operations he was powerless to seize the capital, even if it were freely opened to him. "I beg that you will tell your august master," he concluded, "that I await with confidence a resolution worthy of him and of the Empire he governs."¹

The courage of Sebastiani was infectious. The Sultan decided on resistance, and the French Ambassador was called upon to organise the defence of the city. Directed by him, young and old threw themselves into the task of erecting batteries and mounting cannon. "The English fleet will burn your city, you say?" cried Sebastiani, "Well, you will rebuild it, and your honour, at least, will have remained intact. . . . Were he to annihilate your glorious capital, how could he occupy it with a handful of men? Your aggressor has against that chance the risks of fighting, of the sea, of the winds especially. Let those fail him, not only he could not act, but he would remain at your mercy. Temporise then, negotiate slowly, for time will be in your favour."²

A letter from Napoleon arriving at this juncture still further encouraged the Turks. Insincere negotiations were at once opened with the English, who were led to believe that the Porte was inclined to accede to all their demands. By this means precious time was gained, while the English messenger, who was received and entertained with every courtesy, found himself baffled whenever he demanded a categorical answer to the conditions he had submitted.

The feverish preparations being hurried forward on shore were not unnoticed by the English. On the evening of 21st February, in a letter dated midnight, Mr. Arbuthnot remarks that "as it has been discovered by glasses that the time granted

¹ *Turkey Old and New*, by Sutherland Menzies, pp. 118-9. W. H. Allen & Co., London, 1880.

² *Ibid.*, p. 119-120.

to the Sublime Porte to take its decision is employed in warping the ships of war into places more susceptible of defence, and in constructing batteries along the coast, Mr. Arbuthnot is obliged to apprise M. Isac Bey that if these measures of defence do not immediately cease, the British ships of war will act in the manner which shall be judged most convenient. . . . The celerity with which the British fleet has passed the Dardanelles is a proof that the determination already announced will be put into execution."

Even as he wrote Mr. Arbuthnot may have felt some slight misgiving. For the fact was, the fleet at that moment was utterly becalmed, and had so lain all day, and it was useless to imagine that the circumstance had passed unnoticed on shore. No one, however, could imagine that these conditions would remain unchanged for long, and the Turks, while spinning out the negotiations, busily pushed forwards their preparations.

On the following day, the 22nd—though the English Admiral could not know it—the only chance of success for the expedition was thrown away. For a few hours that morning the wind blew from the south-east, and here we reach a point where Admiral Duckworth and Mr. Arbuthnot vary a little in their accounts of what occurred. Admiral Duckworth writes: "On Sunday the 22nd alone for a few hours the breeze was sufficient to have stemmed the current where we were placed. . . . ; but the peculiarly unsettled state of the weather, and the Minister's desire that I should give a few hours for an answer to his letter through Ysak Bey, prevented me from trying before five o'clock p.m. It was nearly calm, and in the evening the wind was entirely from the Eastward, and continued light airs or calm till the evening of the 28th, when it blew fresh from the N.E. and rendered it impossible to change our position."¹

It will be noticed that Mr. Arbuthnot is made at least partly responsible for the delay, and James, in his *Naval History of Great Britain*, has taken the view that it was through listening to the Ambassador's advice that the whole scheme miscarried. After blaming Admiral Duckworth for not

¹ Admiral Duckworth's letter to Lord Collingwood, 6th March, 1807.—*Papers presented to Parliament*, 1808.

advancing when he had the chance, he goes on to say: "Sir John, however, thought otherwise, and preferred consulting the Ambassador, whose pacific disposition he must by this time have known. The British squadron, consequently, remained at anchor."¹ "It appears the fleet would have got under weigh," says Lord Broughton,² and have attempted at least to work up to join the *Endymion*,³ had not the Ambassador desired that a few hours might be given for an answer to his letter." It is only fair to read Mr. Arbuthnot's own account of the affair in his *Autobiography*, written many years later largely with a view of clearing his own memory. After describing the events of the 19th he says: "It was evening before the fighting was all over. I went to bed while our Squadron was proceeding with a fair wind up to the Sea of Marmora. I was dressing on the following morning when, by the motion of the *Royal George*, on board of which I was, I perceived that she was laying to.⁴ I came out of my cabin to enquire the cause.

"Sir John Duckworth told me that he had made signal for the Captains of the Line of Battle Ships to come on board that he might consult them. This I thought a needless measure; but, however, the Admiral had called them and they came on board.

¹ *Naval History of Great Britain*, by William James, 1886, vol. iv. p. 222.

² *Travels in Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in 1809 and 1810*, 1855 edition, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 509.

³ The only vessel which had approached Constantinople, having been sent forward the previous day with a flag of truce, carrying the British ultimatum.

⁴ At 8.30 on the morning of the 20th, Admiral Duckworth made signal for the Flag officers and captains to prepare to come on board the *Royal George*. At 10 the Squadron hove to, and they came on board with their reports, from which it was ascertained that the number of killed did not exceed twelve, and the wounded sixty-six. At midday all the officers returned to their ships, and the Squadron made sail, anchoring off Princes Islands at ten o'clock that evening. A nearer approach was rendered impossible by adverse winds and currents. It is clear from Mr. Arbuthnot's account that he disapproved of the unnecessary delay in the Sea of Marmora, leading to an enforced anchorage eight miles from the capital. Once negotiations had commenced, however, Mr. Arbuthnot seems to have opposed advancing the fleet to a better strategic position (which would have been possible on the 22nd), believing that at that juncture such a move would have been fatal to the object he had in view, which was to induce the Turks, by his moderate counsels, to submit to the British terms, and not to force the Admiral to proceed to extremities.—See Captain Blackwood's letter to Lord Castlereagh of 6th March, 1807, in the latter's *Correspondence*, vol. vi. p. 164.

"It was their unanimous opinion that before proceeding to further hostilities we should communicate with the Turkish Government. This therefore was done. But the loss of time, occasioned by laying to that the Captains might come on board the *Royal George*, was fatal to the enterprise. The wind in the meantime died away. That wind which would have carried us up to the walls—to the then undefended walls of Constantinople. We could never afterwards approach the town nearer than eight or ten miles. . . ." Later on Mr. Arbuthnot returns to this incident and writes: "Lord Westmorland, then L^d Burghersh, and a very young man, was on board the *Royal George*, and he must well remember the laying to of the ship for the Captains to come on board. . . . Admiral Sir Bladen Capel is still alive. As he only commanded the *Endymion* frigate I do not think that he was called on board; but of this I am not sure. He must, however, have the same recollection that Lord Westmorland has of all the circumstances that I have stated. . . ."

"Almost immediately afterwards," writes Mr. Arbuthnot, "I was attacked and confined to my bed by a violent Rheumatic fever, which deprived me of all use of my limbs; and the Surgeon on board gave me up, as, in his opinion, my case was hopeless. Therefore I was unable to give any opinion to the Admiral; or to remonstrate if I had thought it advisable, if indeed remonstrance could have had effect.

"This I declare in the presence of Almighty God, before Whom I shall have hereafter to answer for every word I have here written, is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. . . ."

Admiral Duckworth mentions Mr. Arbuthnot's illness in his letter to Lord Collingwood of 6th March, stating that two days after the arrival of the fleet near Constantinople, the Ambassador was taken ill and "has been ever since confined with a fit of illness so severe as to prevent him from attending to business." This disposes of James' very unfair comment that "The effect of mortified pride was very serious upon the ambassador; for he was taken sick that very afternoon^{*} and became so very ill upon the day following, that the admiral,

* The 22nd.—See James's *Naval History of Great Britain*, vol. iv. p. 224.

whose frame was formed of tougher material, had the whole burden of diplomacy upon himself."

It would be tedious to relate every event of the few days before the 3rd March, when the fleet repassed the Dardanelles. Admiral Duckworth continued to send ultimatums ashore. "I now declare to you," he writes on the 23rd, "that no consideration whatever shall induce me to remain at a distance from your Capital a single moment beyond the period (next morning) I have now assigned. . . ." In this letter he also complained bitterly that the Porte was making preparations for war, the Admiral appearing so shocked and outraged at this circumstance that one begins to suspect him of lack of humour as well as, perhaps, of more important qualities.

The Turks now proposed a conference, and much time was taken up in a discussion as to where it should be held. On the 24th Admiral Duckworth remarks: "I must observe in the meantime the eight new embrasures that have been suddenly opened in the walls of the Seraglio, and this is another proof of a hostile disposition," etc.

On 25th February the Admiral refers to his own "unexampled moderation"—a moderation that the Turks might suspect to be imposed upon him as much by the weather conditions as by his own humanity.

On the 26th negotiations with regard to the conference were still going on.

By the 27th the position of the British fleet began to be not only ludicrous and humiliating, but extremely critical. The land defences and the forts in the Dardanelles were already immensely strengthened, and it was becoming a question, not of bombarding Constantinople, but of extricating the squadron from an almost desperate position. The wind blew steadily from the north-east, and we cannot but notice a change of tone in the Admiral's epistolary style.¹ He now at the close of a letter, "assures the Sublime Porte of his high consideration." Ultimatums and demands for the surrender of the Turkish fleet have quite dropped out of the correspondence.

¹ These letters were published in *The Times* of 1st May, 1807, having appeared in French in the *Moniteur* of the 19th April, from which they are translated.

In his last letter, dated 28th February, he "assures the Sublime Porte of his distinguished consideration."

On the morning of the following day, 1st March, Admiral Duckworth, realizing that a longer stay meant the complete loss of the squadron, weighed anchor and proceeded southwards. Reaching the Straits at dusk, on the evening of the 2nd, when it was too dark to attempt to force them, he took up his position off Point Pesquies, and waited until the following morning. Early on the 3rd the squadron proceeded on its way, being hotly saluted by the Castle guns, whose heavy granite balls fell on and around the British ships. The fire was far more severe than any they had received on the first passage of the Straits, and the losses in casualties were considered very heavy. The squadron, however, got through without the loss of a ship, though several were severely damaged. "The Turks had been occupied unceasingly in adding to the number of their forts; some had been already completed, and others were in a forward state," writes Admiral Duckworth. "The fire of the two inner Castles had in our going up been severe, but I am sorry to say the effects they have had on our ships returning has proved them to be doubly formidable. In short, had they been allowed another week to complete their defences throughout the channel, it would have been a very doubtful point whether a return lay open to us at all."

A formidable list of casualties had to be counted after the terrible passage through the Straits, and M. Driault states that the British losses would have been far heavier if the Turks had had time to fortify the Asiatic coast, and if their cannon had not been immobile and obliged to wait for the passage of each ship before firing.

"We repassed the Dardanelles yesterday," writes Captain Blackwood, "having succeeded, I may confidently assert, in no one object but that of convincing the Turks a British Squadron could force the passage; by which they have so entirely found out their weak points of defence, that I am inclined to think no other squadron will ever effect the same again. . . ."

¹ Letter from the Hon. Henry Blackwood to Lord Castlereagh, 6th March 1807.—*Correspondence, Despatches and other Papers of Viscount Castlereagh*, edited by his brother, Charles, Marquess of Londonderry, vol. vi. p. 161.

"To effect anything against Constantinople, the possession of the Dardanelles becomes absolutely necessary. We have therefore failed, and lost many gallant officers and men. How Government will receive the news remains yet to be seen, but as the measure was a child of their own, I conclude they will give it an air of victory from our having destroyed nine sail of men-of-war commanded in person by the Pacha," etc.

In England, the first news of the forcing of the Dardanelles was received with transports of joy and triumph, being hailed as a victory equal to Trafalgar or Copenhagen. Enlightenment came later, with a growing *crescendo* of anger, mortification and dismay, as the first unfavourable rumours filtered into the London press through the French and German newspapers. The latter were then under French influence.

The Times of 20th April expressed anxiety over statements in the Hamburg papers that the British fleet had withdrawn from Constantinople, but pointed out that these papers were under French control and could not be relied upon.

On 22nd April *The Times* continued to be uneasy at the news, but remarked, "We have still some reasons to doubt it, . . ." and declared that it was due to the high professional character of Admiral Duckworth to believe that he would not have thrown out a threat which he had not the means and authority to execute.

By the 28th *The Times* is "extremely anxious for the arrival of despatches from Admiral Duckworth. The supposed failure of his expedition to Constantinople has produced a great sensation in the public mind. . . Admiral Duckworth was perfectly aware of the mischievous consequences of delay. The business was to be done *instantly* or not at all."

On the 29th *The Times* still doubts whether Admiral Duckworth can have repassed the Dardanelles.

On the 6th May all doubts vanished with the publication of Admiral Duckworth's report, sent from Cadiz by Lord Collingwood, and no further optimism was possible. The expedition was recognized to have been an utter failure. *The Times* appears much exasperated by Admiral Duckworth's letters to the Porte, which had been published in full in the *Moniteur*. It remarks that "he certainly appears to much greater advantage as the Commander of a Fleet of British

men-of-war than he does in his character of Negotiator and Diplomatist." It speaks of "swaggering and bullying and threatening the Porte with a vengeance the means of inflicting which was totally out of his power. . . . To continue bullying and threatening for three days, at three leagues distance, without any possibility of approaching nearer, was a waste of time and, what is worse, a waste of the spirit and reputation of our navy." *The Times* rather unkindly suggests that the letters were inspired by Mr. Arbuthnot and his secretaries, their style not being held to be "such as we should expect from a British Seaman."

William James says: "That there should have been no investigation of the causes that led to so palpable a defeat as the one we have just done relating may appear extraordinary. An enquiry was undoubtedly in contemplation, but two or three circumstances conspired to prevent it from being prosecuted." On the 20th May, 1808, "the House was called upon to pass a vote of censure upon the planners of the expedition, the members of the late administration." This, however, was lost, and no more seems to have been heard of the matter, though years later it appears that Mr. Arbuthnot was attacked in the House of Commons for his share in the business, and it is clear that he felt the aspersions made on him very acutely.

"The late Lord Grey," he writes in his *Autobiography*, "was first Lord of the Admiralty when Sir John Duckworth was ordered to proceed to the Dardanelles.

"On my return to England I saw him frequently. Nothing could be more cordial or more friendly than his communications with me. He expressed his regret to me that he had not ordered Lord Collingwood up instead of deputing an inferior officer.

"I mention this because the whole blame of the failure has been imputed to me in the House of Commons by Admiral Sir Charles Napier. I had long before left the House of Commons, and my public life was over. I did however think of rebutting the ungenerous and most cruelly unjust accusation. But I refrained. On consideration, I could not but be aware that for the first time to enter into a controversy on a subject on which I had of my own accord ever been silent (the more

painful and embarrassing as almost all who had been present were dead) would be ill received by the Public, as all its interests had long since been forgotten; and as nothing ever does satisfy the Public but success, which in this instance had not been the case, but on the contrary, entire failure."

The incident of the forcing of the Dardanelles has been dealt with at very great length, partly owing to the fact that recent events have given a tragic interest to that part of the world. In passing from it, and even though, at the time of writing, this country finds itself again at war with Turkey,¹ we may, perhaps, all feel inclined to agree with Lord Broughton's closing comment on the affair²: "With the persuasion that a more decisive menace would, on the appearance of the fleet, without any hostility, have effected the purposes of the expedition, we may feel many regrets that other measures had not produced a different termination of the affair; but as the war was not prevented, we cannot surely lament that we did not, by the rapid conflagration of a wooden city, cause the certain destruction of an immense defenceless population, and the massacre of all the Christian subjects in the capital, which was expected and threatened at the time, and which the power of the Grand Signior, in opposition to a multitude of armed fanatics, might have been unable to prevent."

It is of course, impossible to treat the concluding part of Mr. Arbuthnot's life in the same detail as that which has been devoted to this incident. He was behind the scenes in all the important political events of the early nineteenth century, trusted and confided in by all the greatest men of the day, but never taking a very prominent or brilliant part in public events himself.

On his return to England, in 1807, a pension of £2,000 a year was granted to him. He now definitely abandoned the Diplomatic Service, and devoted himself to home politics. In 1809 he became one of the joint Secretaries of the Treasury, and on 31st January, 1814, he married his second wife, Harriet, daughter of the Hon. Henry Fane of Fulbeck, Lincolnshire (second son of Thomas, eighth Earl of Westmorland), by whom he had no issue, but who is celebrated in the memoirs of the

¹ The above was written in the early part of 1918.

² *Travels*, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 515.

period as the intimate friend and confidante of the Duke of Wellington.

It was only a few months after his second marriage that Charles Arbuthnot found himself with his beautiful and attractive wife in the gay French capital. It is here that Mrs. Arbuthnot is believed to have met for the first time the hero of the age, with whom she was distantly connected, through the marriage of her cousin, Lord Westmorland, with the Duke's niece, Lady Priscilla Wellesley-Pole.¹

At this time Wellington was living in Paris, occupying the post of British Ambassador—a somewhat strange appointment, for even Royalist France could not quite forgive the victories of the Peninsular War, and Wellington was consequently not very popular in his novel capacity. The Duchess of Wellington was certainly with him in Paris during this brief sojourn—only five months—but very little has been written of their life at this time, and it is impossible to say whether Mrs. Arbuthnot obtained at once, or at a later date, the complete ascendancy she afterwards wielded over Wellington. Concerning the Duke's friendship with Mrs. Arbuthnot, much ill-natured comment was made, both at the time and later. The lifelong friendship of Wellington for Mr. Charles Arbuthnot will probably be considered a simple and sufficient refutation of anything in the nature of slander, but as to whether this much-discussed friendship was calculated to add much to the peace of mind of the Duchess of Wellington, that is a totally different question. The silence in which Wellington's domestic life is shrouded has remained almost unbroken during the last half century. The veil has, however, been very sensibly lifted by the publication of the *Diary of Frances, Lady Shelley*,² in which many details are recorded by one who was on terms of friendship with both master and mistress in that divided household. From Lady Shelley's account, one gathers that at first Wellington and his wife were not unhappy. They lived for a time in Harley Street, and during his absence in Spain Lady

¹ Daughter of William, third Earl of Mornington, who, in 1778, assumed the surname of Pole in addition to that of Wellesley, on succeeding to some property in Queen's County.

² Edited by her grandson, Mr. Richard Edgcumbe. My readers must refer to this deeply interesting book for many details regarding Mrs. Arbuthnot, the Duke and Duchess of Wellington, and others of Lady Shelley's contemporaries, all sketched by a hand that united undeviating truth with uniform kindness.



Harriet Fane, second wife of the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot.
From an engraving by W. Giller after Sir Thomas Lawrence.



Wellesley and her two boys became objects of great interest with the general public, being loudly cheered when they drove to the Horse Guards to hear the latest news from the theatre of war.¹

Wellington's marvellous generalship during the Peninsular War brought this difficult campaign to a victorious end in 1814. He returned to England to find himself a national hero, and the object of popular adoration. Then followed the brief appointment as Ambassador to France, and the first meeting in Paris with Mrs. Arbuthnot.

In 1814 the Duchess of Wellington seems to have shared her husband's interests, presiding over the Embassy in Paris, where the only incident we hear of is a little passage of arms between her and the celebrated Madame de Staël, in which the Duchess acted with great circumspection. After a gap of years we find an extraordinary change. By 1820 Mrs. Arbuthnot writes of the Duke playfully as "my legitimate property."² The Duchess—the rather pathetic "Kitty Pakenham" of Miss Edgeworth's letters—seems to have suffered a complete eclipse. We find she has withdrawn herself from the world, treating the brilliant society that assembles at Strathfieldsaye rather pointedly as visitors to her husband and not to herself.³ Wellington rarely speaks to her. When he does, Lady Shelley says he has reason to regret it. "The Duke is a very *hard* man," says Greville, "he takes no notice of any of his family; he never sees his mother, and has only visited her two or three times in the last few years; and has not now been to see Lady Anne,⁴ though she has been in such affliction for the death of her only son, and he passes her door every time he goes to Strathfieldsaye."

The poor Duchess is said to have been terrified of her stern husband, and many a time to have slipped down the back staircase at Apsley House, rather than meet him as he came up. As far as possible, Wellington made his home with the Arbuthnots. "You may depend upon it," writes Mrs. Arbuthnot to Lady Shelley in an undated letter, believed to be of 1827,⁵ (written

¹ See *Diary of Frances, Lady Shelley*, vol. ii. p. 407.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 104.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 312.

⁴ Wellington's sister, Lady Anne Wellesley, then married to her second husband, Mr. Charles Culling Smith of Hampton.

⁵ See *Diary of Frances, Lady Shelley*, vol. ii. p. 158.

from Strathfieldsaye), "I shall always be *too happy* to make my fireside agreeable to him. . . . I have too much good taste not to prefer him, anyhow or at any age, to any other friend; and you need not be the least afraid of my ever changing in that respect. I flatter myself, too, that *he* will not change; so that I am never made jealous even when you tell me to *take care*. . . . The poor Duchess is as foolish as ever, if not more so, and provokes me to a degree! I am sorry for her too; and still more so for him, for every year he must suffer more and more from it," etc.

Lady Shelley relates that when guests were invited to Strathfieldsaye, they went on the Duke's invitation, and he made a practice of supplying his wife with a written list of their names, accompanied by directions as to which rooms they were to occupy. The Duchess was aggrieved at this, but Lady Shelley was of opinion that she had by her own attitude invited this treatment.

Wellington was a stern father to his sons, Lord Douro seeming specially to irritate him. Both sons were devoted to their mother. She was often with them on their fishing expeditions, it seems, carrying their tackle and other odds and ends—a proceeding that seemed to one contemporary to lack dignity. However undignified, these little expeditions were probably the bright spots in Kitty Pakenham's sad, lonely life. One is glad she had the affection of her boys. Her charming side was seldom seen—reserved for a few friends like Miss Edgeworth, who has left us some glimpses of her friend which do not altogether suggest the inane and colourless nonentity some writers have depicted. Her tastes were simple, and she never forgot her early days in Ireland. One St. Patrick's day Miss Edgeworth went to Apsley House, where the Duchess, greeting her affectionately, fastened a bunch of shamrocks into her dress with the words: "*Vous en êtes digne!*" She had no ambition, and she fretted and pined in the brilliant and, to her, unsympathetic atmosphere in which she was forced to move. Is it altogether a fancy, or could that brilliant world never quite forgive her the position she occupied and cared nothing for—the empty honours from which the sweetness had long ago been extracted?

Mrs. Arbuthnot was a very beautiful and attractive woman, and various contemporaries agree that she was extremely discreet and trustworthy. "She was not a clever woman," writes Greville, "but she was neither dull nor deficient and very prudent

and silent." Her husband and Lord Castlereagh were accustomed to talk in her presence of the most important and far-reaching secrets of state, and Wellington gave her his complete confidence. Over him Mrs. Arbuthnot maintained her dominant influence to the day of her death. It was generally conceded in society that the Duke was her special property, and with regard to him, Mr. Gleig took it for granted that Mrs. Arbuthnot, if anyone, had a right to be jealous. According to him, she was not disturbed by the Duke's lady admirers, but was "obviously jealous" of his men friends. Her friendship being purely intellectual, she regarded men as her rivals, and Mr. Gleig relates an amusing conversation with her, in which she did her best to extract from him what had passed in an interview he had had with Wellington. He did not satisfy her curiosity, and the little contest ended in laughter on both sides.¹

In November, 1827, Mrs. Arbuthnot, with her husband, paid a visit to Strathfieldsaye, where they found a pleasant and congenial party assembled; they outstayed the party and spent a day or two alone with Wellington (the Duchess lying ill upstairs at the time), and left in his company for Hatfield afterwards. Writing from Strathfieldsaye, Mrs. Arbuthnot thus describes the party in her usual vivacious style: "My favourite, Sir H. Harding, was here, and I was received *à bras ouverts* by everybody; so of course I thought it all charming. But still I was not very dull when they were all gone, for the Duchess is ill in her room, and except for an hour that I *bore* with her, I can sit in the library; and he comes and writes and talks as he did at Maresfield, which he won't do when anybody is in the house." *À propos* of the fact that the Jerseys arrived a day or two before her, she asks: "Don't you think I was very forbearing or very rash to let Lady Jersey have *champ libre* for *two whole days*? For my part, I think it the handsomest thing that was ever done. We stay here till Wednesday, and then go to Hatfield with the *Absorbant*," etc.² Mrs. Arbuthnot's letters are racy, amusing and filled with the society chat of the period, but behind it all one is conscious of the pathetic figure of "Kitty Pakenham,"

¹ See *Personal Reminiscences of the First Duke of Wellington*, by G. R. Gleig, p. 207-8.

² *Diary of Frances, Lady Shelley*, vol. ii. p. 168.

looking on while her hero was monopolized and taken from her. She was not a clever woman—perhaps it is accurate to say that she was a stupid one—and no match for the fashionable beauties who surrounded her husband.¹

In the recently published and most interesting *Reminiscences of the First Duke of Wellington*, by Mr. G. R. Gleig,² a new explanation of the estrangement between the Duke and Duchess of Wellington is given. It is stated that on Wellington's return from India in 1805, when, as is well known, he renewed the offer of marriage to Miss Pakenham that had been declined years before, she was already betrothed to another man, but broke off this engagement in order to marry the hero of the hour; that this fact was afterwards imparted to Wellington, perhaps through no very friendly channel, and that he never forgave his wife what he considered a grave breach of honour. This accusation seems to be a new one. It does not appear in Lady Shelley's *Diary*, where she goes very fully into the causes of the *mal-entendu* in the Wellington household, and we think she would have been likely to give prominence to a fact that might be held to justify Wellington's animus against his wife, who, as Greville says, "was intolerable to him." But Mr. Gleig was in a position to be well informed. Was this accusation true, or was it a spiteful *on dit* current in what Lady Shelley herself calls "that cold English society"?—and none knew it better than she, who was for so long one of its queens.³ True or false, one thing may be said with absolute certainty. Katherine Pakenham did not marry Arthur Wellesley for ambition. She worshipped him,—too openly, perhaps, and with a complete absence of judgment and tact. The Duchess was shy, too—a terrible crime, and showed a lamentable lack of *savoir faire* in her management of an almost intolerable situation. As we have said, she was not a

¹ Mr. Gleig notices a strange trait in Wellington, that "after he became a politician" he never seemed to wish to see his old companions in arms, and that Lord Hill and Lord Raglan and others appear never to have been invited to Strathfieldsaye. "The circle in which he chiefly moved was that of fashionable ladies and gentlemen, who pressed themselves upon him and were flattered, as indeed they had much reason to be, with the notice he took of them, and by his presence at their parties," etc.—See *Life of Arthur, Duke of Wellington*, by G. R. Gleig, vol. iv. p. 149. Longmans, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1860.

² Edited by Mary E. Gleig, 1904.

³ See Lady Shelley's letter of sympathy to Wellington in 1834, on hearing of Mrs. Arbuthnot's death.—*Diary of Frances, Lady Shelley*, vol. ii. p. 252.

clever woman, and perhaps had no one to recommend to her a more judicious line of conduct.

On 1st July, 1828, Mrs. Arbuthnot writes :

" I have been passing a fortnight at Strathfieldsaye, very agreeably. . . . We had an immense party, . . . but the two last days we were *en trio* with him, which I enjoyed very much." ¹

A few days later, having returned to London, she writes :

" The Duchess goes out of town to-day, and we dine with him in the old comfortable way downstairs, only ourselves." ²

In the same letter Mrs. Arbuthnot describes some unwelcome attentions she had received from the Duke of Cambridge, who, finding himself alone with her one evening at Lord Chesterfield's, behaved and spoke in a manner " quite incredible." " I at last got quite alarmed, he was so astonishingly impudent ; so I got up, and said I could not stay and listen to him any longer. He only laughed, and he tried to begin again at the Duke's, so I begged him to go and talk to the *Duchess*, which made him laugh till he was almost in a fit ! I am writing you amazing nonsense, but perhaps it will make you laugh too." ³

The question of Catholic Emancipation came to the fore in 1829, and is reflected in Mrs Arbuthnot's letters. " We think of nothing here but this Catholic question," she writes ; " the opinion of the red-hot Protestants is that we shall fail. I, however, give the Duke too much credit for good generalship to have any fears, and if he *does* succeed, he will have consummated his glory." . . . " I am getting tired of the everlasting subject." . . . " Mr. Arbuthnot is not well ; he has a bad cold, but I hope and trust he will be able to go to the House to-morrow. I have been taking him out *airing*, which is always a sleepy thing to do, so if I am very stupid, you must forgive it." . . . " I am *sick of politics*," etc. ⁴

In 1829 Wellington had startled the Tory world by receding from his former unbending attitude towards Catholic Emancipation, and, supported by Peel, he introduced a bill to remove the disabilities under which the Roman Catholic subjects of

¹ *Diary of Frances, Lady Shelley*, vol. ii. p. 176.

² *Ibid.*, p. 177.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 177.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 191-2-3.

the Crown then laboured. This act of his raised a storm of indignation against him.

Lord Winchilsea was ill-advised enough to publish in the press a violent attack on the Duke of Wellington, whom he accused of "insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties and the introduction of popery into every department of the state." Wellington instantly demanded an apology and withdrawal, but neither could be obtained from Lord Winchilsea. In accordance with the ideas of the time, a meeting was at once arranged, and took place on the 21st March, 1829, at Wimbledon. The Duke fired wide, and Lord Winchilsea discharged his pistol in the air, instantly afterwards proffering, through his second, a full apology, which he found himself in a position to offer, "having received the Duke's fire."

Mrs. Arbuthnot knew nothing of the duel till it was over, when Wellington, walking in when she was at breakfast, gave her the astonishing news in the words: "Well, what do you think of a gentleman who has been fighting a duel?" "I am very glad I had no suspicion," writes Mrs. Arbuthnot to Lady Shelley, "for I should have died of fright."¹

On 15th September, 1830, Mrs. Arbuthnot was with Wellington when Mr. Huskisson was killed within a few paces of them,² at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. She writes: ". . . You know I went on that luckless expedition to Liverpool and witnessed poor Mr. Huskisson's frightful accident. He had been talking to the Duke and me the *very instant* before. There is no need to write about it, for the newspapers told everything, and no writing could give a notion of the horror of the scene. There never was anything so unfortunate, for it was a mere accident, and the least presence of mind would have placed him in safety. If it had not been for this misfortune, our whole expedition would have been the most delightful possible," etc.³

The debates on Parliamentary Reform came on in 1830. The public excitement was intense. As is well known, Wellington strongly and sternly opposed Reform, and became exceedingly unpopular during this period.

¹ *Diary of Frances, Lady Shelley*, vol. ii. p. 188.

² For a reference to this catastrophe, see p. 470, *note*.

³ *Diary of Frances, Lady Shelley*, vol. ii. p. 202.

On 9th November, 1830, Greville writes as follows :

"Yesterday morning I sallied forth and called on Arbuthnot, whom I did not find at home, but Mrs. Arbuthnot was . . . I walked with Mrs. Arbuthnot down to Downing Street, and, as she utters the Duke's sentiments, was anxious to hear what she would say about their present condition. I said, 'Well, you are in a fine state ; what do you mean to do ?' 'Oh, are you alarmed ? Well, I am not ; everybody says we are to go out, and I don't believe a word of it. They will be beat on the question of Reform ; people will return to the Government and we shall go on very well. You will see this will be the end of it.' " I told her I did not believe they could stay in, and attacked the Duke's speech,¹ which at last she owned she was sorry he had made. She complained that they had no support, and that everybody they took in became useless as soon as they were in office—Ellenborough, Rosslyn, Murray. It was evident, however, that she did contemplate their loss of office as a very probable event, though they do not mean to resign, and think they may stave off the evil day. In Downing Street we met George Dawson, who told us the funds had fallen three per cent., and that the panic was tremendous, so much so that they were not without alarm lest there should be a run on the Bank for gold. Later in the day, however, the funds improved."

On 27th April, 1831, popular rage against Wellington for his attitude towards Reform reached such a pitch that a furious mob collected outside Apsley House and smashed the windows, only withdrawing on learning that the Duchess of Wellington had died three days before, and that her body lay inside the house at that moment. The same day Miss Edgeworth had called at Apsley House, also ignorant of the sad event, to enquire after her friend. To her grief she learnt that the Duchess had passed away. "I went into that melancholy house, into that great, silent hall : window-shutters closed : not a creature to be seen or heard. . . .

"Then came, in black, that maid, of whose attachment the Duchess had the last time I saw her, spoken so highly and truly, as I now saw by the first look and words.

¹ This was Wellington's celebrated anti-Reform speech, delivered in the House of Lords on the 2nd of November, 1830, which sounded the death-knell of his ministry. See p. 472, *note*.

“ ‘ Too true, ma’am—*she* is gone from us ! Her Grace died on Saturday.’ ”

“ ‘ Was the Duke in town ? ’ ”

“ ‘ Yes, ma’am, BESIDE HER.’ ”

“ Not a word more, but I was glad to have that certain. Lord Charles had arrived in time ; not Lord Douro. . . . ”

“ The poor maid could hardly speak. She went in and brought me a lock of her mistress’ hair, silver grey, all but a few light brown, that just recalled the beautiful Kitty Pakenham. ”

“ So ended that sweet, innocent—shall we say happy or unhappy life ?—Happy, I should think, *through all* ; happy in her good feelings, and good conscience, and warm affections, still LOVING on ! Happy in her faith, her hope, and her charity ! ”¹

Gleig says that during the Duchess’s last illness Wellington “ was indefatigable in his attentions to her ; and when she ceased to breathe, he evinced great emotion.”² An old friend of Wellington’s happened to call at Apsley House during her illness. While he was there the Duke was called away to his wife’s room and after an interval returned, his stern features showing signs of emotion. “ It is a strange thing,” he remarked, “ that two people can live together for half a lifetime and only understand one another at the very end.” After a pause, his friend remaining silent, he related that the Duchess had run her thin fingers up beneath his sleeve to assure herself that he still wore an armlet she had once given him, and which she believed he had long ago discarded. “ She found it,” he said, “ as she would have found it any time these twenty years, had she cared to look for it.”³

¹ *A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth*, by Mrs. Edgeworth, 1867, vol. iii. pp. 57–8 Miss Edgeworth’s use of the word “ beautiful ” recalls to one’s mind the old legend that the Duchess of Wellington’s face was pitted with small-pox. Such fictions die hard, but this one at least has been recently and finally disposed of by Sir Herbert Maxwell.—See his *Life of Wellington*, vol. i. p. 78, *note*.

² Gleig’s *Life of Wellington*, vol. iv. p. 86.

³ This anecdote was told to the writer by her husband’s maternal grandmother, the late Mrs. Philip Anstruther, who had heard it from her mother, the Hon. Mrs. Stewart-Mackenzie of Seaforth. Mrs. Stewart-Mackenzie was an intimate friend of the Wellingtons, and was the first to bring the news of the victory of Waterloo to the Duchess. Happening to be in Whitehall when the coach bearing despatches drove past, crowned with laurels instead of crape, as would have been the case had a disaster taken place, she hurried to Apsley House with the good news. This interesting fact we learn from Lady St. Helier’s

"Kitty Pakenham's" sad, clouded life was over. Mrs. Arbuthnot did not long survive her. She died very suddenly at Woodford in 1834. The Duke was at Hatfield when he received the news, and his emotion is described by Sir Herbert Maxwell, quoting Lady Salisbury's journal.¹ He was thought very lacking in feeling because he attended a debate in the House of Lords directly afterwards, showing an unmoved countenance, worthy of the "Iron Duke." But there is no doubt that Mrs. Arbuthnot's death affected him very deeply. He clung to Charles Arbuthnot, who henceforward made his home with the Duke at Apsley House, Strathfieldsaye, or Walmer, making over Woodford to his eldest son.²

Writing of Mrs. Arbuthnot's death, Greville, who sometimes shows prejudice, says: "The Duke was a good-natured but not an amiable man; he had no tenderness in his disposition and never evinced much affection for any of his relations. His nature was hard, and he does not appear to have had any real affection for anybody, man or woman, during the latter years of his life, since the death of Mrs. Arbuthnot, to whom he probably was attached, and in whom he certainly confided. . ."

Charles Arbuthnot was a true and loyal friend to the Duke of Wellington—such a friend as great men do not always find. He had no fear of the Duke, or of risking his friendship with him, and invariably told him the exact truth and his own opinions on every subject, whether palatable or not. This attitude of his was generously appreciated by Wellington, and the simple, disinterested friendship between the two men is an honour to both of them. In 1822 Greville told Mr. Arbuthnot that he thought it a great misfortune that the Duke of Wellington had no one to tell him the truth about various inefficient members of the cabinet, and that the Duke had "very few men with whom he was on terms of confidential cordiality. He owned it was so, but said that *he* never concealed from him disagreeable truths—on the contrary, told him everything—and assured

Memories of Fifty Years. In later years, the Duchess's shortcomings were more present to the mind of Wellington than the memory of their last reconciliation. He spoke to Lady Salisbury many years later of the annoyance he had suffered through her extravagance and other faults.—See *Life of Wellington*, by Sir Herbert Maxwell, vol. ii. p. 260.

¹ *Life of Wellington*, by Sir Herbert Maxwell, vol. ii. p. 296.

² Mr. Charles Arbuthnot was known in society by the nickname of "Gosh," and is often so mentioned by Greville.

me that at any time he would tell the Duke anything that I thought he ought to know."

Mr. Arbuthnot's political life was now over. He had held several offices in various administrations. In 1809, when the Duke of Portland was Premier he was Secretary of the Treasury, and in 1823 First Commissioner of Woods and Forests in Lord Liverpool's Government. This post he resigned on Mr. Canning's taking office in 1827. When Wellington became Prime Minister in 1828, Mr. Arbuthnot returned to the Woods and Forests, and retained that post until, in November, 1830, Wellington's Government resigned, and the Whigs, under Lord Grey, took office, with their programme of "Peace, Retrenchment and Reform." Mr. Arbuthnot, who was now in his sixty-fourth year, took this opportunity to abandon public life. He had been an intimate and trusted friend of Lord Castlereagh and Lord Liverpool, and some idea of his own disinterested conduct when in office is afforded by a paper in his hand, now in the possession of Mrs. Arthur Arbuthnot. It is dated 14th December, 1830, exactly a month after his final retirement. Mr. Arbuthnot reviews his political life, refers to his warm attachment to Lord Castlereagh, and goes on to say that Lord Liverpool, knowing his circumstances to be far from affluent, gave to Mrs. Arbuthnot, unasked, a pension in the Civil List. Mr. Arbuthnot continues, in words that are so honourable to himself that we must be allowed the pleasure of quoting them at length :

"It is known, I believe to most of my friends, if not to all of them, that I possessed the unbounded confidence of Lord Liverpool. It is known to myself that he never made any appointment, great or small, without first talking it over with me. It was often said to me by many of my friends, that I ought, in justice to my family, to receive from Lord Liverpool some mark of his favour. In those days, it was far more in the power of the Minister to mark approbation by conferring favour, than it is now, and I must have been kindly thought of by Lord Liverpool, or he would not have declared to me, as he did, that unless I continued in office as long as he was Minister, he should have no confidential friend to aid him. But, with the exception of recommending for preferment a Brother in the Church,*

* His brother, Alexander, Bishop of Killaloe.

and of asking for a clerkship in the Treasury for a Nephew,* I never endeavoured to obtain, nor ever did obtain, one single favour for myself, or for my family, during the many years that the whole Patronage of the Treasury, far different then from what it is now, passed, as I may truly say, thro' my hands.

"My career, such as it has been, is entirely of my own making. I had no family interests to press me forward. As well as I could, I have worked laboriously thro' a long life. With the exception of a retired allowance, I am poorer now than when I entered public life; and I have at least the consolation of knowing that I did not grasp at favours when I might have had them, and that I never betrayed the unlimited Confidence which was placed in me."

There is something touchingly simple in the passages of Mr. Arbuthnot's Autobiography, written for his children, in which he reviews his career in the following words:

"This is a brief outline of my life. Throughout the whole of it, the hand of God has been over me. I have referred to it in two instances. In the first, in my very early childhood. My being taken by my Great Uncle Andrew Stone was the cause of all my subsequent success; and here let me say it enabled me subsequently to be of great service to Brothers, whom I had seldom seen and scarcely knew. I sent for my Brother Thomas; and was the cause of his advancement, tho' it was also owing to his own excellent conduct. To Robert I was not of equal use, as Lord Beresford aided him in the early part of his military life. But I got him the important step of L-Colonel, and subsequently through me he was appointed to a good situation by the Duke of Wellington, when he commanded the Army of occupation in France, after the Battle of Waterloo and the Treaty of Paris. My brother Alexander I got Lord Liverpool to appoint to the Bishopric of Killaloe.

"All this I have stated as instances of what I had been enabled to do in consequence of having been myself so greatly favoured by Almighty God.

* This was George Arbuthnot, only son of his brother, Sir Robert Arbuthnot. He was for many years in the Treasury, and was private secretary to Sir Robert Peel.—See p. 239.

“ And the other great and leading circumstance of my life was my being taken from a wretched state of idleness by Lord Grenville’s appointment of me to a situation in his office. This I have ever considered as the hand of God interfering for me when in the high road to ruin and without which I could neither have had success myself, nor have aided any of my family.

“ But it is not merely in one or two instances—they have been innumerable—that I have seen and felt the protecting hand of the Almighty. And considering that I have only a plain Understanding, with I hope good common sense, I have felt the more grateful to God for the many and great favours which he has heaped upon me.

“ Had I been a person of brilliant talents, I might have ascribed to them what success I have had: but had not the Almighty favoured me, and greatly too, I could have done nothing. Therefore to Him do I bow down in gratitude. I have it in my heart. I am full of thanks to God the whole day long. . .

“ I have gone but little into my private life. I have referred to your excellent Mother as a subject deeply interesting to you all: but I have abstained from other subjects which would be mainly interesting to myself.

“ This, however, I will say. Although, like all others, I have been subject sometimes to unhappiness and miseries, it has been only on two occasions that I have suffered great affliction.

“ But all things in this world pass away. I should not now even wish to recall from the dead, my mind being bent on rejoining those who are gone before me.”

In speaking of Wellington’s affection for Mr. Arbuthnot, Gleig says that from the latter the Duke “ seems never to have kept back a thought. Mild and gentle in his deportment, that gentleman possessed, in no common degree, the quality of discretion; and gave himself up so entirely to the Duke and his concerns, as to postpone to them all apparent consideration of his own. He reaped his reward in such a measure of confidence and affection as were not bestowed upon any other human being. Latterly, indeed, after both had become widowers, Mr. Arbuthnot occupied apartments in Apsley House, and was the Duke’s constant companion for a portion at least of the months which he passed in the country, as well at Walmer as at

Strathfieldsaye. It was touching to witness the regard of these old men, one for the other; especially to observe the degree of tenderness with which the Duke watched over the comforts of his friend. Though nearly of the same age, Mr. Arbuthnot was physically more infirm than the Duke, and the Duke knew it. Hence, after they had walked together for a while, in an autumnal evening, on the beach outside the castle, the Duke would stop short and say: 'Now, Arbuthnot, you've been out long enough. The dew is falling, and you'll catch cold; you must go in.' And like a child obeying the behests of its mother or its nurse, Arbuthnot, not always without a brief remonstrance, would leave the Duke to continue his walk alone, and withdraw into the castle."¹

Mr. Arbuthnot died 18th August, 1850, at Apsley House. Mr. Gleig gives the following account of his last illness: "Mr. Arbuthnot, after living with the Duke for many years, was at last seized with the malady from which he was not to recover. Dr. Ferguson was sent for, and, having carefully examined his patient, made a report to the Duke that the case was hopeless. They were sitting together in that back room which the Duke usually occupied, and which, as it still continues in the state in which his Grace left it, so, let us hope, that it will be retained in the same condition while Apsley House shall endure. The Duke drew his chair close to Ferguson's, in order that he might hear; and when the doom was uttered, he seized the doctor's hand, and rubbing it between his own, and gazing into Ferguson's face, exclaimed in a broken voice, 'No, no, he's not very ill, not very bad,—he'll get better. It's only his stomach that's out of order. He'll not die.' But he did die, in spite of all the nursing which the Duke personally bestowed upon him, and the eagerness with which he clung to every symptom which could by any means be accepted as favourable.

"Mr. Arbuthnot was buried at Kensal Green, and the Duke attended his funeral. While the service was read, the hero of a hundred fights sat wrapped in his mourning cloak, with tears streaming down his cheeks."² The death of Charles Arbuthnot

¹ *Life of Wellington*, by G. R. Gleig, vol. iv. p. 150-1. Longmans, Green, Longmans and Roberts, London, 1860.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 151.

is said to have been the last sorrow that affected Wellington very deeply. "His habits were latterly very solitary," writes Greville, "and after the death of Arbuthnot he had no intimacy with anyone, nor any friend to whom he could talk freely and confidentially. As long as Arbuthnot lived, he confided everything to him, and those who wished to communicate with the Duke almost always did so through him."

This will, perhaps, be the best place to refer, a little out of sequence, to a correspondence that took place rather later, with regard to some papers belonging to Mr. Charles Arbuthnot, which were sent to Apsley House after his death. The Duke, it appears, requested General Charles George Arbuthnot to allow him to see all the letters written by him to Mr. and Mrs. Charles Arbuthnot during the long course of years over which their friendship had extended, promising to return them after perusal. Perhaps the old Duke found the task altogether too painful, and put it off from day to day, for General Arbuthnot always understood that he never actually went through the papers, some of which, it is thought, concerned the Arbuthnot family alone and were of some importance to them in other connections. The Duke died very shortly after receiving them, failing, unfortunately, to leave any directions as to their return to General Arbuthnot. The loss of these papers was a considerable annoyance to the latter, and in April, 1857, he addressed a letter to the second Duke of Wellington, explaining the circumstances and asking that the box might be returned to him. The Duke, however, replying on the 27th April, declined to return the papers, should he find them at Apsley House, on the ground that he had no proof as to his father's intentions with regard to them, and did not consider himself to be a free agent in the matter. General Arbuthnot wrote once more, on the 3rd June, part of his letter running as follows :

"It is well known these papers were never seen by the Duke of Wellington, which I ascertained when, subsequently to my father's death, I was staying at Walmer. I am placed in a very distressing position, *I would not have presumed to ask for any paper or letter of the Duke of Wellington's, except these, as I had no power to give away these papers.* I have seen most of them, and a great portion of them consists of private matters.

"I should not be acting according to my conscience and my duty if I did not trouble you again, and I feel confident, on being informed of the position in which I am placed by having parted with these papers, that you will again consider the matter."

It is not known whether the Duke replied to this letter, but at all events the papers were not recovered, and no doubt General Arbuthnot resigned himself to their loss. Many years later, his son, Mr. Arthur Arbuthnot, approached the third Duke of Wellington on the subject, but with equal ill-success, the Duke briefly stating that he considered himself bound by his father's decision, expressed in the letter already referred to. In reply to this, Mr. Arthur Arbuthnot wrote once more, on the 1st May, 1885, claiming that the letters were his absolute property, as his grandfather's direct and lawful heir, and expressing his hope that the Duke would re-consider his attitude. No reply to this letter has been found. It may be remarked that, with regard to the legal position—at least as far as letters written by the first Duke himself were concerned—Mr. Arthur Arbuthnot was mistaken, for letters, no matter in whose possession, belong legally to their writers, and, failing them, to their next heirs; but some regret was naturally felt over the loss of papers lent in a friendly way to the first Duke, and which there was at the time no reason to suppose would be lost to the Arbuthnot family.

As we have seen, Mr. Charles Arbuthnot was twice married, first, by special license, at Cholmondeley House, Piccadilly, 23rd February, 1799,¹ to Marcia Mary Anne, daughter and co-heiress of William Clapcott-Lisle of Upway, Dorsetshire, and niece to the first Marquis of Cholmondeley; and secondly, at Fulbeck, 31st January, 1814, to Harriet, third daughter of the Hon. Henry Fane of Fulbeck, Lincolnshire (younger brother of the ninth Earl of Westmorland). By his second wife, who died 2nd August, 1834, and was buried at Fulbeck, he had no issue. By his first wife, who died at Constantinople, 24th May, 1806, he had issue—

- I. Charles George James (General), born 1801, to whom we shall return.

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine.*

- II. Henry, in the 2nd Life Guards, and afterwards a Commissioner of Audit, born 1803, married (30th April, 1830) Lady Charlotte Rachel Scott, daughter of Thomas, second Earl of Clonmell. He died 24th June, 1875, and was buried at All Saints' Church, Isle of Wight, having had issue by his wife (who died 23rd April, 1891) an only daughter, Marcia, who died at Torquay, unmarried, 12th January, 1850, aged 18.
- I. Caroline, born at Lord Gwydir's house in Whitehall 28th July, 1802, died unmarried in 1872; buried in Houghton churchyard 7th November that year.
- II. Marcia Emma Georgiana, born 10th October, 1804, married (28th February, 1825) her cousin, Lord William Henry Hugh Cholmondeley, second son of George, first Marquis of Cholmondeley. Lord Henry—as he was usually called—succeeded to the Marquisate of Cholmondeley on the death of his elder brother in 1870, and died in 1884, having had issue by his wife two sons and three daughters.* Lady Cholmondeley died in London, 3rd November, 1878, and was buried at Kensal Green.

General Charles George James Arbuthnot, eldest son of the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot, was born on board the frigate *Juno* in 1801. In 1812 he was appointed page of honour to George III. In 1816 he entered the army as ensign in the Grenadier Guards. In 1820 he was captain in the 28th Regiment, then major, and, in 1825, lieutenant-colonel in the 72nd. Sir Alexander Arbuthnot writes†: "Charles Arbuthnot was an equerry to the Queen. He went by the name of 'Carlo Dolce' and was noted for his courtier-like manners. I remember being told that on one occasion, at Windsor, when he and Lord Charles Wellesley were riding by the Queen's carriage, a heavy storm came on and the equerries were drenched with rain. When they arrived at the Castle the Queen asked Lord Charles Wellesley whether he was very wet. 'Drenched to the skin, ma'am,' was the answer. 'If it had been Colonel Arbuthnot,'

* The present (fourth) Marquess of Cholmondeley is grandson to Marcia Arbuthnot and great-grandson to the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot.

† *Memories of Rugby and India*, p. 8.



Charles and Henry Arbuthnot, sons of the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot.
From an engraving by F. C. Lewis after Sir Thomas Lawrence.



Marcia, Marchioness of Cholmondeley (née Arbuthnot).
From an engraving by J. Thomson after Sir William Ross.

was for some time in the Rifle Brigade. Woodford, with most of its contents, was sold about 1882, and many family portraits of great interest then passed from Mr. Arbuthnot's possession. Among these was the beautiful portrait of his grandmother, by Hoppner, now in the possession of Mr. W. D. Clark of Tal-y-garn, Glamorganshire, as well as that of the second Mrs. Charles Arbuthnot by Lawrence. The latter now belongs to Mrs. Charles Fane of Fulbeck, Lincolnshire. These two portraits used to hang one on each side of a portrait, by Hoppner, of Mr. Charles Arbuthnot, at Woodford. Many family relics and miniatures were, however, retained by the family, and are now in the possession of Mrs. Arthur Arbuthnot, at 34, St. George's Road, London. Mr. Arthur Arbuthnot married (1st October, 1868) Emily, daughter of William Cuthbert of Beaumont Castle, Northumberland, and died in 1887. He was buried at St. Saviour's, Jersey, 17th October that year. By his wife he had issue—

- I. Charles, born 9th July, 1869, died unmarried in 1903.
- II. Frederick, of the 10th Imperial Yeomanry, born in 1872, killed in the Boer War in 1900.
- III. Eric, born in 1874, lineal head of the Aberdeenshire branch of the Arbuthnot family. Always provided that a line descending legitimately from Robert Arbuthnot, banker at Rouen, has not persisted in France. See p. 167, *note*.
- I. Evelyn Geraldine, born 1876, married Robert Oliver Harold.
- II. Muriel, born 1871, died the same year.
- III. Madeline Charly, born 1877, a Sister of Mercy of the Order of St. Benedict at Malling.
- IV. Marcia Hyacinth, born 1877 (twin with Madeline).
- V. Violet Mary, born 1878.

Alexander Arbuthnot, Bishop of Killaloe, fourth son of John Arbuthnot of Rockfleet, was born 7th May, 1768. We have noticed that in 1781 his father wrote of him to Mr. Young as being exceedingly precocious. In 1784, at the age of sixteen, he was entered at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1797 his father died, directing in his will that his eldest son, George, should have the first option of buying the Rockfleet Castle estate, if he wished to do so. His brother not exercising his right, the estate was

held in trust for all the children of John Arbuthnot of Rockfleet until 1798, when Alexander bought the shares of his brothers and sisters, and leased the property to the Rev. Charles Dudley-Ryder, of Merrion Square, Dublin, and in 1801 sold it to the Rev. Peter Browne, Dean of Ferns. In 1809 he was Archdeacon of Aghadoe, and in 1816 Dean of Cloyne. He was consecrated Bishop of Killaloe in Tuam Cathedral in 1823. He died at his Palace of Killaloe 9th January, 1828, and was buried in the churchyard of the Cathedral, where there is an inscription to his memory, which has been recently re-cut by direction of Lady Arbuthnot, widow of his third son, Sir Alexander John Arbuthnot.¹

He married first (31st March, 1798) Susanna, daughter of . . . Bingham, of Antigua, and secondly (5th May, 1819) Margaret Phœbe, daughter of George Bingham; the two wives were first cousins, and are said to have belonged to the Earl of Lucan's family. By his first wife, the Bishop had issue—

- I. John, born 1799, entered at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1815, died unmarried.
- II. George Bingham (General), of whom presently.
 - I. Anne, married (4th October, 1833) William Pallet Brown Chatteris of Sandleford Priory, Newbury, Berks, and died 15th March, 1848.
 - II. Frances, married (1828) the Rev. Patrick Comerford Law, of Ballyvalley, co. Clare, Rector of North Repps, Norfolk, and died in 1857, having had issue.

¹ The *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1828, gives the following account of the Bishop of Killaloe, after announcing his death "at his palace of Clarisford," on the 9th of January:

"This excellent prelate was brother to Major-General Sir Thomas Arbuthnot, K.C.B., who commands a British Brigade in Portugal, and to the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot, late Chief Commissioner of his Majesty's Woods and Forests. From the Deanery of Cloyne he was appointed to succeed Dr. Mant, now Bishop of Down, in the See of Killaloe, in 1823. In Dr. Arbuthnot, the clergy of his diocese will have to regret a generous and impartial patron, and a kind protector; the numerous poor of his neighbourhood, a benefactor, an advocate and a friend. Ever anxious to promote the interests of religion, and secure the comforts of his clergy, the number of churches and glebe-houses was increased by his exertion. A constant resident in his diocese, his attention was never diverted from the high and important charge confided to his care, and the humble and deserving curate had not to complain of neglect or discouragement from this exemplary prelate. A perfect gentleman, to every class of persons his manners were courteous and affable, while his deportment was ever consistent with the dignity of his station. His lordship's remains were interred in the Cathedral of Killaloe, attended by a vast concourse of persons."

By his second wife, Margaret Phoebe Bingham, the Bishop had issue—

III. Alexander John, (Sir), K.C.S.I., C.I.E., born 11th October, 1822, was Member of Council at Madras from 1867 to 1872; Member of Council of the Governor-General of India in 1875; and member of Council of the Secretary of State for India, 1887-1897. In his interesting Memoirs, edited by his widow, Lady Arbuthnot, many details of his experiences in India will be found. He married first, in 1844, Frederica, daughter of Major-General Robert Fearon, C.B. She died in 1898. Sir Alexander married secondly Constance Angelena, youngest daughter of Sir William Milman, third Baronet.* Sir Alexander died *s.p.* in June, 1907. He published in 1881 a memoir of Sir Thomas Munro, and in 1899 *Lord Clive, The Foundation of British Rule in India*, which formed the fifth volume of the series of "Builders of Greater Britain," edited by Sir H. F. Wilson. He specialized in the lives of distinguished Anglo-Indians, and contributed no less than fifty-three biographies to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. His posthumous *Memories of Rugby and India*, already referred to, was published in 1910.

IV. Charles George (Gen. Sir), K.C.B., born 19th May, 1824. Served in the Crimea, and second Afghan and Burmah campaigns. Was Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, 1886-91. On his retirement was made Colonel-Commandant of the Royal Artillery. He died 14th April, 1899, having married (27th October, 1868) Caroline, daughter of William Clarke, M.D. of Barbadoes, and by her (who died in 1909) had issue—

(1) Charles William, born 9th July, 1869, died in infancy.

* Lady Arbuthnot, under her maiden name of Constance Milman, is author of several books, of which perhaps the best known is *Through London Spectacles*, consisting chiefly of a series of articles previously contributed by her to the *Spectator*. The *Cloak of Charity* was written and published after her marriage, and has also found many readers.

- (2) Alexander George (Lieut-Colonel), C.M.G., D.S.O., 24th Battery R.F.A., born 30th November, 1873; entered the Army, 1893; Captain, 1900; Major, 1910; served in the European War, 1914-18 (Despatches, five times, D.S.O.); Serbian Order of Karageorg. He married (1905) Olive Mary Hay, daughter of Colonel W. H. Burton, R.E.
- (3) William John, I.C.S., born 1885, killed in the European War, 9th January, 1917, aged thirty-one.
- (1) Margaret Georgiana, born 1871, is Inspector of Women's Prisons and in charge of a Girls' Reformatory under the Egyptian Government. Was previously nursing for eighteen years (Matron, Government Hospital, Suez, 1901-4; of Anglo-American Hospital, Cairo, 1904-10). Temporary war work in 1915.
- (2) Caroline Anne Maude, born 1877, married (1904) Mervyn Hugh Cobbe, R.N.
- (3) Beatrice Mary, born 1879, married (1906) Major Alan Sutherland Colquhoun, Yorkshire Light Infantry.
- (4) Phœbe Janet, born 1881, married (29th May, 1913) David Crombie of Greenhills, Longreach, Queensland.
- (5) Mary Reeve, born 1883, served as a nurse in the European War (mentioned in Despatches, and R.R.C.).

III. Susan Harriette, born 1821, died 18th November, 1823, aged two years.

IV. Margaret Sarah, twin with Charles George, born 1824, died unmarried 6th May, 1841.

General George Bingham Arbuthnot, second son of Alexander Arbuthnot, Bishop of Killaloe, was born 2nd December, 1803. He was in the 3rd Madras Cavalry. He died 30th May, 1867,

having married (15th July, 1829) Harriet Louisa, daughter of Joseph Mason Ormsby, Esq., and had issue—

- I. George Alexander (Major-General), Madras Cavalry, born 15th June, 1831. He married (15th August, 1860) Fanny Isabella, eldest daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert William Wood, Indian Army, and had issue—
 - (1) Lancelot Bingham, born 1861, died 3rd August, 1879.
 - (2) George Herbert (Lieut.-Colonel), 3rd Madras Cavalry, born 16th December, 1863, married Rose Wiglie.
 - (3) Percy Bingham, born 1st April, 1867.
 - (4) Alexander, born 17th August, 1869, died unmarried 1902.
- (1) Beatrice Bingham, married (1896) M. Close.
- II. Bingham Henry Law, born 9th April, 1837, died 10th April, 1857, aged twenty.
 - I. Susan Harriet, died 18th November, 1823, aged two years.
 - II. Alice Catherine, married (15th February, 1862) Captain Charles Robert Kerr Hubbuck, King's Dragoon Guards, and has issue.
- III. Fanny, married (29th March, 1859) Captain Robert Alfred Loraine Grews, King's Dragoon Guards, and has issue. She died 1917.
- IV. Catherine Ormsby, died 26th February, 1857.

General Sir Robert Arbuthnot, K.C.B., K.T.S., fifth son of John Arbuthnot of Rockfleet, was born 19th November, 1773. In 1797 he was gazetted to a Cornetcy in the 23rd Light Dragoons, and promoted the same year to a Lieutenancy. He served in Ireland during the Rebellion, and was present at the battle of Ballinamuck, when the French General Humbert and his army were taken prisoners. In September, 1805, he went with his regiment to the Cape of Good Hope, and took part in the capture of that settlement by Sir David Baird. He proceeded to South America on the staff of Major-General Beresford, and was present at the surrender of Buenos Ayres, and at two engagements



General George Bingham Arbuthnot.

From a silhouette by August Edouard in the possession of Mr. P. S.M. Arbuthnot.

previous to its recapture by the Spaniards. Following this, he was for thirteen months a prisoner, being marched a thousand miles into the interior. In 1808 he proceeded to Portugal on the staff of General Beresford, served in the Spanish campaign, and was present at the battle of Corunna, 1809. The same year he went to Portugal with General Beresford.¹

He was created a Knight of the Bath 4th December, 1815, by the Prince Regent.

In a note to his *Autobiography*, his brother Charles writes (in 1849): "I have recently heard that after the Battle of Albuera Lt. Colonelcy, but he preferred coming to England with the dispatch announcing that Victory."

Sir Robert lived latterly at Hanover Lodge, Regent's Park, and died 6th May, 1853.

Sir Robert married first (at Belfast, 1st February, 1802) Susan, only surviving child and heiress of William Vesey of Farm Hill, Co. Mayo. Sir Robert is said to have laid out large sums in improving his wife's house and estate. She died at Teddington 30th June, 1822, and Sir Robert married secondly (at St. James's Church, London, 4th January, 1826) Harriet, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Smith of Castleton Hall, Rochdale, Lancashire. She died 5th December, 1861, *s.p.*

By his first wife, Sir Robert had issue—

I. George, of whom below.

I. Phoebe Sarah, married (22nd February, 1825) the Rev. Randal Henry Feilden, Rector of Ashley, Wilts.

George Arbuthnot, of Farm Hill, Co. Mayo, and of Norbiton, Surrey, only son of General Sir Robert Arbuthnot, was born 20th November, 1802. He was in the Treasury, and was private secretary to Sir Robert Peel, and subsequently to Sir Charles Wood, Bart. (afterwards Viscount Halifax). He died 28th July, 1865, having married first (29th April, 1829) Augusta Amelia Adolphina, daughter of Christopher Papendick, Esq., of Kew, Surrey. She died 5th February, 1853. He married secondly (28th September, 1857) Louisa Anne, second daughter of Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Jones, K.C.B.

¹ Services of Officers, W.O., 25/744.

By his first wife he had issue—

- I. Robert Christopher (Major) of Hollow Dene, Frensham, Surrey, born 19th February, 1830; married (25th November, 1875) Frances, only child and heiress of Wastel Brisco of Southcote Manor, Berks,^{*} and died at Reading, 30th December, 1891, having had issue an only son, Robert John Wastel Arbuthnot-Brisco (Major), Royal Welsh Fusiliers, of Newtown Hall, Montgomeryshire, born 5th February, 1877; served in the South African War; assumed the additional surname of Brisco in 1912; married (1905) Winifride Teresa, daughter of A. Boursot of Vicarage Gate, London, and has issue four sons, viz: (1) Robert Christopher Arbuthnot, born 2nd September, 1906; (2) John Henry Arbuthnot, born 30th January, 1908; (3) Thomas Francis Arbuthnot, born 9th December, 1909; (4) George Alexander Arbuthnot-Brisco, born 30th October, 1913.
- II. Henry Thomas (Major-General), C.B., born 16th October, 1834, served in the Crimean War, 1854-6, being present at the battles of Alma and Inkerman. He was also present at the siege and fall of Sebastopol. Served during the Indian Mutiny and was present at the siege and capture of Lucknow. He died at Ramsay House, Shooter's Hill, 3rd May, 1919, having married (17th September, 1862) Anna Jane, daughter of Benjamin Holme Mowbray of Surbiton, by whom he had issue an only son—

^{*} Wastel Brisco descended thus from the Briscos of Crofton: John Brisco of Crofton, Cumberland (who died in 1760), married Catherine, daughter of Sir Richard Musgrave Bart., and had two sons, John and Musgrave. The eldest, the Rev. John Brisco, was progenitor of the senior branch of the family, of which the present Sir Hylton Ralph Brisco, Bart., is the head. The second son, Musgrave, married Mary, daughter and heiress of Edward Dyne of Coghurst, Sussex. Their son, Wastel, married Sarah Goulburn, and had two sons, Musgrave and Wastel. Musgrave left no issue, and Wastel married Mary, daughter of John Lade of Broughton House, Kent. Their eldest son, also Wastel, born 1824, had a daughter, Frances, who married Robert Christopher Arbuthnot, as above. For an account of the Briscos of Crofton, see p. 179-180, *note*.

George Holme (Major), Royal Berkshire Regiment, born 8th July, 1864; gazetted to Royal Berkshire Regiment 29th August, 1885; served in the Soudan, 1885-6 (Medal and Bronze Star); Captain, 1896; Major, 1905; retired March, 1914; joined New Army on the outbreak of the European War and served with 5th Service Battalion Royal Berkshire Regiment, in France, till March, 1916; afterwards Town Major and Area Commandant in France and Belgium, till March, 1919. Major Arbuthnot married (1910) Isabella Catherine, daughter of Colonel Charles J. C. Cramer-Roberts, Norfolk Regiment.

III. George Alexander Papendick (Rev.), born 21st March, 1839, vicar of Roscommon, formerly of the 4th Bengal European Light Infantry; married first (19th May, 1863) Mary Ellen, only daughter of William Fulcher of Surbiton (and grand-daughter of the Marquis d'Amboise). She died 22nd April, 1869, *s.p.* He married secondly (5th April, 1870) Anne Jessie Thomasine, youngest daughter of Thomas D. Hall, R.N., and died *s.p.* in 1902.

IV. Adolphus Planta, born 9th January, 1844, died 2nd December the same year.

I. Augusta Mary Anne, born 13th October, 1831, married (4th July, 1861) Vernon Delves Broughton of Hunbury Hill, Northants.

II. Susan Christine, born 12th November, 1846.

PART IV

THE ARBUTHNOTS OF ABERDEENSHIRE,
THIRD BRANCH.

LINE, BELIEVED TO BE EXTINCT, DESCENDING FROM
ALEXANDER, SON OF JAMES ARBUTHNOT OF
LENTUSCHE.

LINE, BELIEVED TO BE EXTINCT, DESCENDING
FROM ALEXANDER, SON OF JAMES ARBUTH-
NOT OF LENTUSCHE.

NO documentary proofs can be advanced for the early stages of the line said by John Moir to descend from Alexander Arbuthnot, third of the three brothers whom he states to have first settled in Buchan. Moir tells us that this Alexander was younger brother of the first Laird of Cairngall, and we can corroborate him so far as to say that the first Laird certainly had a brother Alexander. Of him few traces can be found, but we find that in 1602 he witnessed a deed at Cairngall.¹ In 1608 he was in trouble (in company with George Leslie of Old Craig) for the murder of George Leith, son of John Leith of Harthill. At the petition of the widow, Helen Leith, her two sons and father-in-law, Alexander Arbuthnot, "son of the late James Arbuthnot of Lentusche," was, with George Leslie, put to the horn for the crime of "invading . . . and slaying the said Mr. George with hagbuts and thereafter stripping him of his habiliments, together with his sword, steel-bonnet and purse containing £100 of gold and £10 in white silver," etc.²

In 1609 several people found caution not to "reset" the two delinquents, who, we find, were still at the horn in 1616 for the same offence.³

Nothing further is definitely known of Alexander. Moir says: "Alexander Arbuthnot, *a son or descendant* of the third brother who first settled in Buchan, entered into the service of the Earl Marischal,⁴ and accompanied that powerful nobleman to Denmark in 1589, when he went to espouse the Princess Anne for James VI. The Earl, perhaps the most

¹ *Register of Deeds*, vol. 84.

² *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. viii. p. 204.

³ *Aberdeenshire Hornings*, vol. 20.

⁴ George, 5th Earl Marischal.—Note to Moir's MS. *History*.

opulent of the Scottish nobility, appeared at the Danish Court with all the lustre and magnificance with which the wealth of Scotland could adorn him. Alexander Arbuthnot settled, on his return from Denmark, first at Auchlee, then at Rora, both in the parish of Longside." This Alexander, who, if not a son, might easily be identical with the foregoing one, is said to have married Janet Stuart, maid-of-honour to Anne of Denmark,¹ and by her to have had issue a son,²

Alexander, in Rora. There is in existence a renewed lease of Rora to this Alexander, which was signed at Rora, 23rd January, 1680, whereby Robert Keith of Red Castle lets to Alexander Arbuthnot, "his tenants and sub-tenants of nae higher degree nor himself, all and hale that two pleughes of land in Rora presently possessed by the said Alexander," etc.³ This lease was signed the year preceding Alexander's death, and it is not known how long he had occupied and farmed Rora previous to this date. He married Elspet Innes, of the family of Binwell, great-great-aunt (says Moir, writing in 1815) to "the present Gilbert Innes of Stowe, deputy-governor of the Royal Bank of Scotland," and died in 1679, having had issue by her (who died in 1681)⁴—

¹ There was formerly preserved at Arbuthnot House, Peterhead, a quaich or drinking-cup bearing the following inscription: "Alexander Arbuthnot and Janet Stuart, 1593." Very possibly this might be the date of their marriage.

² It is possible that a generation may intervene between the two Alexanders, although they have usually been written of as father and son. Some MS. notes left by Miss Grace Park, daughter of Captain James Park and Grizel Arbuthnot, which have been preserved at Arbuthnot House, Peterhead, state that Alexander, first in Rora, had a son John, who was father of the second Alexander. Possibly this is slightly confirmed by the appearance of a mysterious "John Arbuthnot in Rora" in 1606 (distinct from the Notary), who subscribed a bond in that year (see p. 147). If, however, Alexander Arbuthnot, first in Rora, only married in 1593, any son of his would be a mere boy at this time. One might suggest that he was son by a former marriage, but this is going rather far in the direction of mere guess-work. Another unexplained "John Arbuthnot in Rora" had a daughter Margaret, baptized at Longside, 6th July, 1629, and all attempts to locate him on the pedigree have so far failed. It will probably never be possible to clear up these points quite satisfactorily. The facts from Miss Park's MS. have been kindly communicated by the Rev. William Arbuthnot of Stechford, Birmingham.

³ The original lease is in the possession of the Rev. William Arbuthnot, of Stechford, Birmingham, who has kindly furnished me with a copy of it, for the purposes of this book.

⁴ Alexander Arbuthnot and Elspet Innes are buried in Longside Churchyard, the inscription to their memory running as follows: "Here lyes the Corpse of Alexander Arbuthnot in Rora, and Elspet Innes, his spouse, who departed this life in August, 1679—the other in December, 1681—and their sons John and Alexander," etc.

- I. Nathaniel of Rora and Auchlee, born 1654, of whom presently.¹
- II. Andrew of Hatton, baptized at Longside 28th August, 1665, of whom presently
- III. Robert of New Seat, St. Fergus, and of Torhendrie, baptized at Longside 4th February, 1668, of whom presently.
- IV. Alexander, baptized at Longside 4th May, 1670, died young.
- V. John, whose name is not to be found in the parish registers, but who, according to Moir, died in infancy.
- I. Margaret, married Alexander Scott of Nether Aden, and, according to Moir, was "maternal grandmother to William Seller of Scotsmill."
- II. Grizel, baptized at Longside 16th February, 1661, married John Hay in Savock.
- III. Janet, baptized at Longside 4th December, 1672.

The second son, Andrew Arbuthnot of Hatton, commonly known as "Laird Andrew," on account of his having purchased several small estates, married (8th July, 1684)² Mary, daughter of John Dalgarno of Mill of Rora. Moir says of him that he was "a respectable man of dignified appearance, but he was perhaps more remarkable for his sagacity and prudence bordering upon parsimony, than for generosity or benevolence; in what is commonly called *good sense*, the three brothers were alike remarkable." Andrew Arbuthnot purchased and farmed the lands of Ludquharn (previously belonging to Alexander Forbes), and also part of Invernettie. By Mary Dalgarno he left issue ³—

- I. John, baptized at Longside 6th April, 1689.
- II. Alexander, baptized at Longside 23rd November, 1695 (witnesses, John Arbuthnot and Alexander Dalgarno, both in Rora).

¹ The date of Nathaniel's birth is from MS. sources, his baptismal entry not having been found.

² The information and dates given in this part of the pedigree are very largely from MS. sources, and, unfortunately, no definite proofs of their accuracy can be submitted. Where it has been possible to corroborate them, the writer has been careful to indicate the welcome circumstance.

³ Moir states that he had in all thirteen children, but only names five of them.

- III. Andrew of Broadlands, baptized at Longside 17th June, 1701 (witnesses, Arthur Dalgarno of Fortree and John Arbuthnot in Rora), of whom presently.
- IV. Nathaniel of Hatton, Fraserburgh, baptized at Longside 6th February, 1703, of whom presently.
 - I. Janet, baptized at Longside, 9th June, 1685.
 - II. Elspet, baptized at Longside 23rd January, 1693 (witnesses, Alexander Arbuthnot of Cairngall and Nathaniel Arbuthnot in Longside).
- III. Mary, baptized at Longside 22nd October, 1694 (witnesses, John and Alexander Dalgarno, both at Mill of Rora).
- IV. Janet (second of the name), baptized at Longside 14th September, 1697 (witnesses, John Arbuthnot and Thomas Coutts, both in Rora).
- V. Margaret, baptized at Longside 29th July, 1698 (witnesses, as the last), married her cousin, Dr. Thomas Arbuthnot, second son of her uncle, Robert Arbuthnot of New Seat (p. 275).
- VI. Elspet (second of the name), baptized at Longside 13th August, 1704 (witnesses as before), married at Peterhead, 27th June, 1720, Thomas Forbes, "merchant, Peterhead, father to Andrew Forbes, now living there." *

Nathaniel Arbuthnot of Hatton, Fraserburgh, and of Auchtidonald, fourth son of Andrew Arbuthnot of Hatton and Mary Dalgarno, was baptized at Longside 6th February, 1703 (witnesses being Nathaniel Arbuthnot in Longside and John Hay in Savock). He married (20th April, 1727) Eliza, daughter and heiress of Fraser of Hatton, and died 6th October, 1783, leaving issue—

- I. William, born 1729.
- II. James, born 1730, died unmarried.
- III. Andrew, born 1731.
- IV. Nathaniel, born 1733.
- V. Nathaniel, (second of the name), born 1739.
- VI. Alexander, baptized at Longside 1st November, 1742.

* John Moir's *MS. History*, 1815, and *Peterhead Marriage Registers*.

- VII. William (second of the name), born 1748, died unmarried.
- VIII. Charles, born 1750, went to the West Indies, and on his return settled at Crichton, and married Grizel, daughter of Andrew Johnston of Aldie (by his wife Elizabeth Park, daughter of Captain James Park and Grizel Arbuthnot (p. 275), and died *s.p.* in 1812.
- I. Sophia, born 1728, married . . . Scott, and died *s.p.* She was living in 1779, when the will of her sister, Mrs. Dunbar, was recorded, and she received a legacy of £10.
- II. Mary, born 1734, married William Dunbar of Grange. She died 20th May, 1778.
- III. Margaret, born 1736, died young.
- IV. Elizabeth, born 1741, married, according to John Moir, "a respectable farmer near Ellon."
- V. Elspet, baptized at Longside 17th May, 1744.
- VI. Margaret, married William Simpson, shipmaster in Aberdeen.
- VII. Anna, baptized at Longside 9th July, 1745, died 21st January, 1823, unmarried. Buried in old Peterhead Churchyard.
- VIII. Marjory, baptized at Longside 28th March, 1747, died 4th May, 1824, unmarried. Buried in old Peterhead Churchyard.¹

Andrew Arbuthnot of Broadlands, third son of Andrew Arbuthnot of Hatton and Mary Dalgarno, baptized at Longside 17th June, 1701, married Margaret Fraser, daughter of the Laird of Broadlands, from whom Andrew purchased that estate (now known as Rattray, in the parish of Crimond). They had, besides a daughter, three sons—

- I. Andrew, who died unmarried.
- II. Nathaniel, died unmarried.
- III. Charles.

Nathaniel Arbuthnot of Rora and Auchlee, eldest son of Alexander Arbuthnot of Rora and Elspet Innes, was born

¹ John Moir also mentions a daughter Katherine, married to "Mr. Gordon of Fetterangus."

in 1654, and married (11th June, 1678) Elspet, daughter of Thomas Duncan of Innervidie and Knockleith (she died in 1748) and died in 1721,¹ having had issue, it is said, twelve sons, only five of whom came to man's estate. These were—

- I. Thomas of Rora, the "Old Bailie" of Peterhead, born 1681, factor on the Marischal estate, of whom presently.
- II. Andrew of Nether Mill of Cruden, baptized at Longtenant side 8th July, 1683. He was in 1739 at Mill of Aden, and joint factor with his brother Thomas for Mary, Countess of Erroll in her own right. He was commonly called "Blind Fortree." He bought the lands of Aucharnie in the parish of Cruden. In 1691 he was witness to a registration of sasine to Alexander Arbuthnot, last Laird of Cairngall, of the lands of Cairngall.² In 1698 he got sasine on a wadset by the Earl Marischal to him of three ploughs of land in Rora, under reversion for 9,000 merks.³ In 1709 he was witness to a Renunciation by John Arbuthnot in Rora of the town and lands of Mill of Creichie.⁴ In 1716 he was paying 14s. 6d. to the Earl Marischal's estate for his house in Peterhead.⁵ Of Andrew Arbuthnot, who died at an unknown date *s.p.*, Moir writes that he, "like his brother John, was a man of gigantic height, dignified appearance, and possessing all the good qualities of his brothers—with a mind less enlightened by education."

¹ His will was registered 26th June, 1724. It was given up by "Thomas Arbuthnot, merchant in Peterhead, lawful son of the defunct." His other sons, Andrew, Alexander, James, and John, are all mentioned by name.—*Aberdeen Testaments*. Moir tells us that Nathaniel was "a man of graceful appearance, fine countenance and in height rising considerably above the common size. He was respectable for his integrity, generosity and piety, and beloved and esteemed for the excellent qualities of his heart and understanding." Nathaniel Arbuthnot was buried at Longside 23rd December, 1721.

² *Aberdeenshire Sasines*, vol. 14.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 16. The wadset was written by "a servitor of Robert Arbuthnot, Chamberlain to the said Earl."

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 18.

⁵ *Forfeited Estate Papers relating to the Lands of the Earl Marischal*.

III. Alexander, litster in Peterhead, baptized at Longside 25th January, 1687. In 1716 he was paying 12s. 3d. feu-duty to the Earl Marischal's estate. In 1718 he was witness to a deed signed by his brother Thomas.¹ Moir states that Alexander "was not inferior to any of his brothers in those qualities both of person and mind which we have so frequently noticed as belonging in a peculiar manner to his family and name." His will, dated 8th January, 1739, was recorded 2nd November, 1742.² He married first a daughter of Ogilvy of Boyne, by whom Moir states that he had several children (not named), and secondly Mary, daughter of Alexander Scott of Auchtidonald, by whom he had issue—

- (1) James, baptized at Peterhead 19th May, 1714 (Thomas Arbuthnot and James Park witnesses), who was living in 1739, but dead before 1742, when his father's will was given up.
- (2) Alexander (not found in the parish registers), a merchant in London, said to have left issue.
- (1) Anna, baptized at Peterhead 18th October, 1715 (Thomas Arbuthnot and James Park again witnesses), buried at Longside 31st March, 1719, aged 3½.
- (2) Janet.
- (3) Elspet, married first Captain Somers, and secondly Sir Thomas Heron, Bart.³

¹ *Forfeited Estate Papers relating to the Lands of the Earl of Marischal*

² *Aberdeen Testaments*. He appoints his four brothers, Thomas, Andrew, James and John to be his executors. A witness was "Thomas Arbuthnot, chirurgion, in Peterhead."

³ Of this Elspet, Moir writes as follows: "Mrs. Somers was a woman of uncommon beauty and elegance of person. Walking one day in London on foot to visit a friend who lived in her neighbourhood, she had occasion to pass through a bye-lane. Here she met a chimney-sweep, who, struck with her appearance, had the boldness to demand a kiss, on pain of having her fine white satin robe bedaubed all over with his sooty sceptre. The lady, reduced to this singular dilemma, and finding entreaties in vain, thought proper to comply with the demand of the sable prince."

- IV. Robert, baptized at Longside 29th December, 1693, died the following year.
- V. Arthur, baptized at Longside 28th January, 1695, died young.
- VI. James of West Rora, baptized at Longside 26th October, 1697, of whom presently.
- VII. John, in Fortree, baptized at Longside 21st August, 1704. He died unmarried at the Castle of Inverurie in 1785, and was buried at Longside 9th September that year, aged 81. Moir says of him that he was "remarkable for his uncommon height (he was about 6 feet 6 inches in height) and patriarchal appearance; for his benevolence and gentleness of disposition, and, above all, for the strict integrity and unaffected piety of his life. As a scholar, he was not, perhaps, inferior to his brother James, although he could not communicate his knowledge with the same facility and elegance."
- I. Anne, baptized at Longside 13th April, 1691.
- II. Janet (not found in the parish registers), married first John Dalgarno of Mill of Rora, and secondly (at Longside, 17th June, 1714) James Park, merchant and shipowner in Peterhead. It was under their roof that the Chevalier de St. George spent his first night, after landing at Peterhead in December, 1715.¹

James Arbuthnot of West Rora, the sixth son of Nathaniel Arbuthnot and Elspet Duncan, was baptized at Longside 26th October, 1697. Of him Moir says: "This excellent man received a classical education, which he improved by assiduous study. Accustomed to associate from his earliest

¹ It is doubtless James Park, husband of Janet Arbuthnot, whose tombstone confronts one in the churchyard of St. Fergus. There we learn that James Park, "sometime Merchant in Peterhead," "departed this Life the 26th May, 1739, and of his Age the 59th Year." Reading on, the spectator finds himself thus admonished:

Stay, Passenger, as Thou pass by,
 As thou art now, so once was I.
 As I am now, so Must Thou be,
 Remember, man, that Thou must Die.

years with the best families in that part of the country, his manners were those of an accomplished gentleman. His fine countenance and graceful deportment indicated the dignity of his mind. In benevolence of heart, suavity of temper, sincere piety, and universal good-will to mankind, he bore a striking resemblance to his celebrated namesake, Dr. John Arbuthnot. As a farmer, he was surpassed by none of his contemporaries. He was, if not the founder, at least the principal member of a *Farmer's Society*, which tended greatly to promote the advancement of agricultural knowledge in that part of the county of Buchan; and he published a small volume, on the modes of farming adapted to Buchan, which possesses an uncommon degree of merit—considering the period at which it was written, 1736. He died in 1770, aged 73, at Auchleuchries, where he had resided for some years, having left the farm of West Rora to his son Nathaniel."

A poem in memory of James Arbuthnot was composed by the Rev. John Skinner, minister of Longside and author of the *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*. It is to be found among the latter's published poems, and runs as follows :

TO THE MEMORY OF A WORTHY FARMER.

What ! Shall my rural muse in feeble strain
Of pompous deaths and titled woes complain,
And shall she be asham'd to drop a tear
In public, o'er a worthy Farmer's bier ?
A Farmer ! name of universal praise,
And noble subject for the poet's lays :
This one, a Farmer of superior mind,
For higher spheres from earthly youth design'd,
Taught to converse with men of rank and note,
Yet stooping to adorn the rural cot ;
There, calm and quiet in his humble state,
Lov'd by the good, and valu'd by the great,
Disdaining flattery, yet without offence,
The man of manners, virtue, grace and sense.
In Agriculture's wide extended tract,
Skill'd and instructive, punctual and exact,
Prudent from principle in every part,
Which or concerns the head or moves the heart.
To God religious, to his neighbour just,
And strictly honest in each branch of trust ;
Ne'er jarring from himself, but still the same,
Clear in his thoughts and steady in his aim.
In speech engaging and in taste refin'd,
The farmer's pattern and the scholar's friend.

To such a Farmer surely praise is due,
 And all who knew him can declare it true,
 Can tell how uniform, over life's vain stage,
 He stept in virtue's paths to good old age.
 Fair was his life, and blest, we hope, his end ;
 To each good man may Heav'n such mercy send !
 Asks any reader who this man could be,
 So much esteem'd by all and prais'd by me :
 Know, honest friend, that in thy way to fame,
 A Farmer's footsteps do thy notice claim,
 And James Arbuthnot was that Farmer's name.

The inscription on the tombstone of James Arbuthnot, in Longside churchyard, runs as follows :

" S.M. of James Arbuthnot in Rora, an affectionate husband, a tender parent and faithful friend. Conspicuous for benevolence of heart and integrity of conduct, he gained the esteem of all. Possessed of the virtues which adorn the man and the Christian, his life was amiable and his end was peace. He dy'd April 16th, 1770, aged 73.

Happy the man whom God, who reigns on high,
 Hath taught to live and hath prepared to die ;
 His warfare o'er, and run his Christian race.
 Ev'n Death becomes the messenger of peace,—
 Dispels his woes, then wafts his soul away,
 To endless glory of eternal day.

" Here also lyes in hopes of a blessed immortality, Margaret Gordon, his spouse. An affectionate wife, a tender mother, and sincere friend. She died November 1st, 1783, aged 84. Here are also deposited the remains of Elspet Arbuthnot, their daughter, an amiable young woman, who, upon the 12th day of November, 1750, in the 21st year of her age, resigned her soul to God."

James Arbuthnot married in 1726 Margaret, daughter of Gordon of Mill of Fiddes and sister of Charles Gordon of Auchleuchries. (She died 1st November, 1783, aged 84.) By her he had issue—

- I. James, baptized at Longside 4th November, 1726. (Witnesses, John Arbuthnot and John Kidd.) This James settled at Middletown of Rora, and married his cousin, Christian Fraser, daughter of Captain A. Fraser, shipmaster in Peterhead (by his wife, Christian Arbuthnot, daughter of

the "Old Bailie," p. 272), and by her had issue three sons, James, John, and Alexander, and a daughter, Christian, who all died young. James Arbuthnot himself is said to have died in the flower of his age, and John Moir writes of him that "he was a man of an excellent heart and pleasing manners; and as he was universally beloved by his relations and friends, so his premature death was long and deeply regretted."¹

- II. Nathaniel, baptized at Longside 3rd May, 1734. (Witnesses as before.) He farmed West Rora during his father's lifetime and died unmarried.
- III. Charles, Abbot of Ratisbon, baptized at Longside 23rd February, 1737. (Witnesses, William Scot in Aden and John Arbuthnot in Fortree.) Of him presently.²
- IV. John, baptized at Longside 22nd November, 1739. (Witnesses as in the last case.)
- V. Thomas, baptized at Longside 25th February, 1744. (Witnesses not named.) He became a merchant and agent of the Aberdeen Bank at Peterhead. Of him Moir says: "We shall not attempt to delineate the character of this truly estimable man. His best eulogium is written in the hearts and affection of all who ever had the happiness of knowing him. Suffice it to say that he is a son worthy of James Arbuthnot of Rora." Moir also adds that he had two sons, who died in early life. He died 8th April, 1820, aged 76. Buried in old Peterhead Churchyard.
- I. Mary, baptized at Longside 14th June, 1728. (Witnesses, John Arbuthnot and John Kidd.) She married John Moir in Kirkcoun of Longside, and was mother of John Moir, printer and genealogist. She was buried at Longside 3rd March, 1795, aged 67.

¹ The Rev. John Skinner composed a poem on the death of James Arbuthnot, son of the subject of his previous poem. It will be found printed in Appendix I.

² The Latin inscription on his tombstone at Ratisbon states that he was born at Rora, 5th March, 1737, but this is evidently incorrect as to the month. The entry from the registers of Longside is as follows: "1737, February 23rd. James Arbuthnot in Rora had a son baptized Charles." Witnesses, as above.

- II. Elspet, baptized at Longside 23rd February, 1730.
(Witnesses, James Park and John Arbuthnot.)
She died 12th November, 1750, in her 21st year,
and was buried at Longside.
- III. Margaret, baptized at Longside 18th March, 1732.
- IV. Elizabeth, twin with Margaret.
- V. Jean, baptized at Longside 1st September, 1733.
(Witnesses, John Arbuthnot and John Kidd.)
- VI. Margaret, second of the name, baptized at Longside
17th April, 1738, married her cousin, Captain
Thomas Arbuthnot (p. 271), merchant and ship-
master at Peterhead, and died 16th August,
1816. Buried with her husband in Old Peter-
head Churchyard.
- VII. Elizabeth, second of the name, baptized at Longside
12th September, 1741.

Charles, third son of James Arbuthnot of West Rora, baptized at Longside 28th February, 1737, was a very distinguished member of the family. He was brought up in the Roman Catholic faith, and was sent to Germany at the age of eleven, to be educated there. He afterwards won for himself a European reputation as a scientist, mathematician and chemist, besides being renowned for his piety, learning, breadth of mind and benevolence of heart. Some original letters of his are extant, addressed to his parents and to his brother Thomas, and are in the possession of the Rev. William Arbuthnot, who has kindly placed them at my disposal. In the first of these, dated from Rotterdam, "September the 22 Day, 1748," he tells his parents that he has followed the advice of a Mr. John van Wingarden, and, instead of going to Douai, as had been arranged, is accompanying him to Ratisbon. He says he was "twenty days at sea," and that he was "excessive sic all the wole time." He was only eleven when this was written, and the spelling is rather more than uncertain.

The next letter, dated "Ratisbone, 4th December, 1752," runs as follows :

"DR PARENTS !

"I was very much astonished to be informed by Mr. Robert Leith that you never had a letter from me, for

I assure I wrote several times : yet at the same time I am wholly consolate, to tell the truth, I was not a little affraid you had not only forgot me quite, but also very angry at me for the fridome I took in coming to this place without your knowledge, which (I) confess was a great fault, and for which I crave most humble pardon, yet I must attest in conscience, it was by no force or suasion but by free will and election to follow my Commerades I was in holland acquainted with : nor have I the least reason to repent since I came to this place, I have not only kept my health (God be blessed) very well, but have wanted for nothing, which could be necessary for any state of life which God and your will schall be pleased to put me to hereafter. I have made a tolerable progress in my studies and besides have learned the french language as Arithmetikes and Geometry, and that to the satisfaction of my worthy Superiors, who have been very kind to me. I pray you to remember me to all good friends and relations. So begging you most humble to consolate me as soon as possible with a pair of lines, recommending myself to your worthy prayers, I remain till death,

" D^r Parents,

" Your most obedient and affectionate son,

" CHARLES ARBUTHNOT."

These interesting letters, covering a span of over seventy years, and addressed at first to his parents and latterly to his brother Thomas, are too numerous to be inserted in full. A few extracts have therefore been chosen, as follows :

May 24th, 1753.

" D^R PARENTS,

" Your surprising silence has been very grivious to me these several years, I not having the comfort of an answer to all the lines I wrote you from time to time, wherefor I beseech you again and again at this occasion (as I slipe none to schew my filial duty) to honour me as soon as possible with a scrape of your pen, and to informe me of your and all the rests health, nothing in this side of time being more dear to me than to hear of your welfare, which is the subject of my daily prayers. . . ."

July 29th, 1754.—"I was very glad to have this fit occasion of the worthy bearer (as I slip none) to make offer to you of my filial duty, and to informe you of my well being, hoping from the bottom of my Soul to hear the same of you and all good friends; for I must confess, I am quite inconsolate; I beseech you therefore, for the love of God, put me soon out of the great anxiety I am in, by honouring me soon with some news from you. . . ."

October 25th, 1754.—"To tell the trouth, I was quite inconsolate never to hear from you or any of my Dear friends, but at the reception of your last dated 21st August, 1753, which I received the 12th of this: I am confirmed in the opinion I allways had that our letters miscarry upon the road: for I am sure I have write you above five or six letters since I have been here, at least as often as ever I had occasion without ever having a scrape of a pen from you. My dear Fathers indisposition of health afflicts me very much, and his recovery with all your wellbeing is the subject of my daily prayers. . . ."

Up to this time it seems that Charles Arbuthnot had not been specially designed for the priesthood. In a letter dated 5th August, 1756, he speaks of becoming a "journeyman," and as entering himself as an apprentice with some "gentlemen" at Ratisbon. By 1757, however, he had definitely chosen a profession more congenial to his natural piety of mind, and writes as follows to his parents, after receiving their consent to the choice he had made:

"Ratisbone, May the 13th, 1757.

"DEAR PARENTS,

"I cannot express the pleasure yours of the 13th Sept. gave me. Your free and generous consent, in leaving my state of life to my own choice drew tears of joy from my eyes. He, and he only, who has the heart of man at command, could inspire you, Dear Parents, with such noble, unbiassed and disinterested sentiments. I can assure you, before I took the resolution of doing what I have done, I begged the living God most earnestly to assist me mercifully in my choice, not once, but again and again for a considerable time; before I entered upon my present situation. And now, I thank the great God, far from repenting, I have all

the contentement and satisfaction any poor mortal could wish for, in this side of time. Nothing could be an addition to my present happiness, but the hearing that you, my Dear Parents, and my brothers and sisters, keep your health: Long may you live and happy may you be, both here and hereafter, which is often the subject of my serious hours. I offer my kindest compliments to my dearest brothers and sisters, friends and Relations, and ever am, Dear Parents,

“Your most humble, obliged and most dutiful son and servant,

“CHARLES ARBUTHNOT.”

He was now a member of the Benedictine Order, and had become an inmate of the Monastery of St. James, known as the Scots College, at Ratisbon. This was an institution founded and maintained for the purpose of educating young Scotsmen for the priesthood, generally with the idea of sending them back to their native land later on in a missionary capacity. Charles Arbuthnot, however, was destined to spend his whole life at Ratisbon, and seems only once to have paid a brief visit to Scotland, in 1772.

September 10th, 1759.—“My long silence may appear something surprising to you, but I beg you’ll excuse me: for indeed I would have long ago answered yours received May past, had it not been, that I expected from day to day the occasion of a young Gentlemans going from hence to Scotland, whose departure being much longer deferred than I foresaw, caused me keep back from acquainting you of my present condition, which you and all my friends so earnestly desire. I assure you, that since I entered this state of life, to which God has been pleased to call me, I have still kept my health so, that never any sickness has caused me to omit my duties one single day. Therefore I beg you, dear Parents, also all other friends, not to be cast down or anyways anxious for my sake. Ye desire to have soon the comfort of seeing me; but this being in the power and disposition of my Superiours, I shall beg the Almighty God to comfort and keep you in good health both of body and mind, till we have the happiness of seeing one another in this life, and afterwards in the kingdom of heaven. . . .”

On the 14th February, 1761, he was ordained priest, and perhaps on that occasion received the name of "Benedictus," by which he was always known in the Monastery, and which appears on his tombstone at Ratisbon.

May 8th, 1761.—"I can assure you, that I am, and have been still, in perfect good health, living here in all satisfaction of body and mind ; so that I am fully convinced, it has been by divine Mercy and providence that I was brought hither, and that he has called me truly to the state of life I at present enjoy. I was in the beginning of this year ordean'd Priest ; and since the dignity of this State requires a greater Purity of soul, I entreat you, D^r Parents, to recommend me earnestly to God in your holy prayers ; as I can assure you, that as often as I offer up to his Divine Majesty the unspotted sacrifice of the Body and Blood of his only begotten son, I never forget to remember you, my Brothers and Sisters and other Relations, to whom I humbly beg you to give my kind compliments. . . ."

August 5th, 1762.—"I see you would willingly see me in Scotland ; and I assure you, that I am ready with all my heart to come, and serve my country as much as lies in my power : But since you know as well as I do that it is not in my power to do what I will, but that I must obey the command of him to whom by a solemn vow I have subjected myself, therefore I must exspect till it shall please God to inspire him with the thoughts of sending me. . . ."

August 4th, 1763.—"I told you in my last, that I should be very glade of seeing you again, and I here repeat it, that I should certainly not delay in coming if I could only obtain licence of my Superior. Therefore, the will of God be done. . . ."

August 11th, 1767.—"The only thing I desire and sigh after, is to come home and see you again, and to serve my native country. Yet I must remain here, till it please the Almighty to call me by the commands or lawful permission of those whom he has placed over me, and whose will, according to my call, I must obey. Don't think, therefore, D^r Parents, that any other thing could retain me longer here, than obedience to my lawful superiors. God preserve you

in good health, till it please heaven to fulfill both our desires ; and if it should not be in this side of time, yet I hope it shall be in heaven. . . .”

March 18th, 1765. (To his brother Thomas, who was seven years younger than himself.)—“ This is to acquaint you in a few lines of my good health, and to wish you all prosperity, health and joy, and, above all, the grace of God to direct you in the right way amongst people of which many think little on their maker, others again offend him, as if he were not existent. Continue you always, my Dear, to keep the best company and take always the advice of prudent men, and I hope in God you will turn out to be a brave man. I was charmed with your last to me, seeing there your good, innocent principles and way of thinking, which, if you always retain, all will turn out to the best. This shall be an especial object to me in my serious hours. . . .”

January 12th, 1766. (To the Same.)—“ If you be well in health and mind, I shall be extremely glad to hear it. I have now got a long time ago no letter from you, for the last you sent me seems to have been lost. Be pleased, therefore, to acquaint me of yours and our D^r Parents’ health as soon as possible ; because this will always be a great Comfort to me, to hear that you and our D^r Parents and relations are well. My Dear ! how are your affairs going ? In all you do, have God before your eyes, think all is from him and all must tend to him. Let that therefore be always your greatest care, to seek him whom you may possess eternally ; let not yourself be drawn astray by that torrent of free thinkers whose heart is still fixed to that from what their body is made : who in no other things distinguish themselves from brutes, than in less acknowledging and serving their Creator. Fly such company more than a pest. . . .”

June 29th, 1766. (To the Same.)—“ The last I received of you was dated 4th of February, where you pleased to write me a great deal of news, which gave me much comfort, who have been already so long absent and so far distant from that countrey I now would thank heaven to see again ; I mean to see my old Dear Parents, you and the rest of my Brothers,

Sisters and Relations. God knows when that happy, so long expected day shall come! however, the will of God be done. . . ."

September 17th, 1767. (To the Same.)—"I received your last in due time, but the Reason why I did not answer it sooner is because I did not know what I should answer to that Point concerning my being acquitted of my Office, &c.; Now I must acquaint you, that I foresee nothing less than any such thing, nor, I believe, shall I obtain licence to come home and see you and the rest of my Friends in many years, which is surely a most grieving thought to me: but the will of God be done. Who knows what may happen on a sudden? Patience and good will is the best at present. . . ."

His father, James Arbuthnot of West Rora, died in 1770, and Charles Arbuthnot writes as follows to his brother:

May 29th, 1770.—"I duly received yours of the 19th of May, in which the sincerity of your mind proves you to be a true son of that most dear and loving Father, whose death now afflicts me to the utmost. You may easily conceive, dear brother, what a stroke it was on my heart when I remembered to have seen the tears dropping from his Eyes on that day on which I had the Pleasure to [see] him the last Time at my Departure. Nothing less did I think then that it should be the last time I should see him. Now I can think nor say anything more, than that it [is] the work of the hands of the Almighty, whose eternal Decrees nothing shall resist. *Dominus dedit; Dominus abstulit: Sit nomen Domini benedictum.* Let us now join in prayers that his soul may enjoy that eternal rest which our blessed Saviour has promis'd to those who Serve him in this Life. What desire do I not feel in my mind to see at least my dear Mother! yet the will of God be done. Let us endeavour to follow the good Exemple of him, of that father I mean, whose glorious memory nothing but death shall blot out of my heart. . . ."

In his next letter, still addressed to his brother Thomas, he alludes to his share in his father's estate, which he refuses to accept.

May 5th, 1771.—"I received your last duly, which gave me great consolation in hearing of your recovery and my D^r Mother's welfare. . . . I am much obliged to my D^r Mother and you for thinking on me. God be thanked, I have not need of it, therefore share the whole among yourselves, or, if you rather will, give that which might fall to my share to those who might have the most need of it,—thus God will be honoured. I beg dayly the Almighty to grant my D^r Mother long health and contentment, as also the welfare of you all is the dayly object of my serious hours. I should have great satisfaction of seeing you all again; but God knows if it will be in this side of time. Yet I hope, till I live. . . ."

In 1772 Charles Arbuthnot paid a short visit to Scotland, and in 1776 he became Abbot of St. James's Monastery, Ratisbon. In many of his letters he asks to be remembered to Mr. John Skinner, minister of Longside, author of the *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*. Writing in May, 1792, he says: "Do not forget to remember me to Mr. Skinner, whom I esteem very much as an honest man and a good old friend. Why should I be offended at any man for his particular way of thinking? his book stands in our library, and is still interesting for the ancient history of Scotland. . . ."

December 17th, 1797.—"What are you saying to the great preparations of the french to invade great Britain? I suppose your fears are not so great, as they have only a feeble fleet to support their landing. . . ."

November 4th, 1798.—"I am afraid our sufferings are not yet at an end, as the continuance of the war seems at present very probable, and then, God knows what may be our fate, as the impire is in such a bad state of defence, which makes our state very critical; we must rely on providence and patiently expect the future. . . ."

We get some glimpses of the Abbot of Ratisbon in a letter written in 1785 by a distant relation of his, Robert Arbuthnot, second son of Robert Arbuthnot of Haddo-Rattray, who was then travelling on the continent, and stayed for a time at Ratisbon. It is addressed to his father and, after describing

the round of gaiety in which he found himself, which left him little time to read or write, he refers to the Abbot as follows : " He is the universal favourite of everybody here, particularly of the Ladies, who form no parties without their '*cher Prelat*.' He is indeed a most agreeable, good-natured man. He expresses himself with some difficulty in English,¹ which is a little against him, but he is possessed of great good sense and considerable learning, particularly in natural philosophy and mathematics, in which he is allowed to be superior to any person in Bavaria. He is likewise eminently skilled in another science, which is at present more useful to him, and which he practices more than the other—I mean, playing with remarkable skill at all games of cards, principally at Ombre, at which he is very fortunate." Robert Arbuthnot goes on to relate that the Abbot "goes every evening to the Assemblies or to the Opera," and remarks that, "I daresay if St. Benedict were to come alive, he would be a good deal surprised to see one of his Abbots lead so gay a life. In general, the Religious in Germany are allowed much more liberty than in France, where no Monk is ever seen, at least publickly, at the Playhouse, but here nothing is more common," etc.²

In 1800 the poet Campbell visited Ratisbon, and stayed for a short time at the Monastery of St. James. As was natural, the sentiment there was ardently Royalist, and we learn that some of Campbell's views were very ill received by certain members of the fraternity. "His political sentiments had been avowed with rather more freedom than discretion. One of the Monks, at least, denounced him as a rank republican; others, though more cautious in their expressions, were not more kindly in their private estimate of the stranger. But the worthy President was his friend to the last; nor in after life did Campbell ever mention the name of Arbuthnot but in terms of respect and gratitude. He never forgot a kind intention nor the author of a kind act; and it is pleasing to recognize the portrait of this

¹ The Abbot having left Scotland at the age of eleven, German had become much easier to him than his native tongue.

² The original letter, dated "Ratisbonne, April 30th, 1785," is in the possession of Mr. Charles George Arbuthnot of 69, Eaton Square.

venerable friend faithfully traced in one of his later poems—
 “The Ritter Bann” :

There enter'd one whose face he knew,
 Whose voice, he was aware,
 He oft at mass had listened to
 In the holy house of prayer.
 'Twas the Abbot of St. James' Monks,
 A fresh and fair old man :
 His reverend air arrested even
 The gloomy Ritter Bann, etc.¹

The Rev. Thomas F. Dibdin,² who visited Ratisbon in 1818, gives an interesting description of the old Monastery, which had some unique architectural features, and continues as follows :

“But if the entire college, with the church, cloisters, sitting-rooms and dormitories, was productive of so much gratification, the *contents* of these rooms, including the *members* themselves, were productive of yet greater. To begin with, the head, or President, Dr. C. Arbuthnot : one of the finest and healthiest-looking old gentlemen I ever beheld—in his eighty-second year. I should however premise, that the members of this college—only six or eight in number and attached to the interests of the Stuarts—have been settled here almost from their infancy ; some having arrived at seven, and others at twelve, years of age. Their method of speaking their *own* language is very singular ; and rather difficult of comprehension. Nor is the *French*, spoken by them, of much better pronunciation. Of manners the most simple, and apparently of principles the most pure, they seem to be strangers to those wants and wishes which frequently agitate a more numerous and polished establishment ; and to move, as it were, from the cradle to the grave,

The world forgett'g, by the world forgot.”

In the last extant letter from Abbot Charles Arbuthnot to his brother Thomas, dated March 28th, 1819, he writes :
 “Two days ago I was favoured by yours of the 10th current,

¹ *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, edited by W. Beattie, vol. i. pp. 287–8, Edward Moxon, London, 1849.

² See his *Bibliographical, Antiquarian, and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany*, vol. iii., Supplement, p. xi., London, 1821.

by which I was much satisfied to learn that you are still in good health. We are now both in a pretty advanced age, and the only remnant children of our family. My health at present is in a passible good state, although I begin to feel the weight of advanced age, and have suffered this winter much by reumatical pains ; my memory is also much impaired ; yet I have reason to thank eternal Providence for my present situation. As the spring and summer are now advancing, I hope they shall be beneficial to my health ; the will of God be done ! . . .”

The Abbot died 19th April, 1820, and a little later in the year it happened that Thomas Campbell found himself again at Ratisbon. He writes : “ My first visit was to the Scotch College—a dismal visit ! Of all the monastery there are only two survivors out of a dozen, whom I knew. I first inquired for the worthy prelate, who had shown a fatherly kindness to me when I was here. He died, they told me, last April, between eighty and ninety years of age. I scarcely imagined that the news of an old man’s death could have touched me so much ; but I could not help weeping heartily when I recalled his benevolent looks and venerable figure, and found myself in the same Hall where I had often sat and conversed with him—admiring, what seemed so strange to me, the most liberal and tolerant religious sentiments from a Roman Catholic Abbot. Poor old Arbuthnot ! It was impossible not to love him. All Bavaria, they told me, lamented his death. He was, when I knew him, the most commanding human figure I ever beheld. His head was then quite white ; but his complexion was fresh, and his features were regular and handsome. In manners, he had a perpetual suavity and benevolence. I think I still see him in the Cathedral, with the golden cross on his fine chest, and hear his full, deep voice chanting the service.” *

John Moir, who was the Abbot’s nephew, writes of him that he was “ a man revered for his piety, eminent for his learning, and accounted one of the best mathematicians in Germany, having repeatedly carried off the first prizes from the German Academies for solving mathematical problems. Like his father,

* Beattie’s *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, vol. ii. pp. 374–5, Edward Moxon, London, 1849.

the Abbot, even at the advanced age of 80 years, is remarkable¹ for the dignity of his person, and the benevolent openness of his countenance, which might serve as a model for the statuary; and so much is this amiable man beloved by the most illustrious German Princes, that when the Diet of Ratisbon had determined, at the instigation, or rather, command, of the tyrant Napoleon Buonaparte, to secularize all the church lands of the Empire, an express exception² was made in favour of the Scots College of Ratisbon. Upon this occasion, the Abbot addressed so affecting a memorial to the Diet that it drew tears from the eyes of all present."³

Above the tombstone of Abbot Arbuthnot, which Fischer states to have been removed from the churchyard in 1890 to the cloisters of the monastery, is the following Latin inscription:

IN PACE CHRISTI
SEPULTUS HEIC QUIESCIT
ILLUSTRISS. AC REVERENDISS. DOMINUS
BENEDICTUS ARBUTHNOT,
MONASTERII AD S. JACOBUM SCOTORUM
RATISBONÆ ORDINIS S. BENEDICTI ABBAS.
NATUS EST 5. MARTII 1737.
PROFESSUS 21 NOV. 1756.
SACERDOS 14 FEBR. 1761
ABBAS ELECTUS 4 JUNII 1776.
MORTUUS 19 APRILIS 1820.
R.I.P.

MEMORIE
VIRI OMNIBUS SUMME VENERANDI
SUIS DESIDERATISSIMI
CENOTAPHIUM
IN PROXIMO S. JACOBI TEMPLO ERECTUM
EXTAT.⁴

¹ This was written in 1815, while the Abbot was still living.

² This exception secured the revenues of the College only during the life of the Abbot.—Original note to John Moir's MS.

³ A few particulars of Abbot Arbuthnot are given in Fischer's *Scots in Germany*. In a note to p. 150, the author writes: "In 1775, he obtained a prize for a chemical essay. See *Publ. of the R. Bavarian Ac. of Sc.* ix. 410, 436. See also vols. vii. and viii. A good portrait of Arbuthnot is to be seen in the library of the Benedictine Abbey at Fort Augustus."

⁴ The cenotaph mentioned in this inscription consists, says Fischer, "of a

Thomas Arbuthnot, known as "the Old Bailie of Peterhead," eldest son of Nathaniel Arbuthnot and Elspet Duncan (p. 250), was born in 1681. He became factor on the Marischal estate, and here, once more, the tragedy and magic of the '15 lie right across our page. It was the enthusiasm and energy of Thomas Arbuthnot that rallied the tenants on the Marischal estate to the standard of James VIII. For this he remains famous in the annals of Peterhead, and when we reach his name we are transported at once into the tumult and excitement of those stirring times. We hear the dull thud of marching troops, and the slogans of the clans. We see through the mists of a grey December day a stranger landing at Peterhead,—he whom historians call the Chevalier de St. George, but who, in the minds of some of us, is saluted by a title other than this. The Chevalier—to bow to historical opportunism—landed and slept the first night at the house of Captain Park, who had married Janet Arbuthnot, daughter of Alexander Arbuthnot in Rora (p. 252). The following day a concourse of noblemen and gentlemen hastened to attend him, and he proceeded to

red marble slab on the inner wall of the church, south side." It has the following inscription :

SISTE VIATOR GRADUM. MEMORIAM PIAM SIBI MERITO

EXPOSCIT ILLUSTRIS VIR AC REVMUS D.

BENEDICTUS ARBUTHNOT

HUJUS MONASTERII ABBAS.

Natus fuit in Scotia die 5. mens. Martii anno MDCCXXXVII in bono paterno Rora comitatus Aberdonens; puer 11 annor, Ratisbonum venit ibique in hujus Monasterii seminario studiis humanior. absolutus vota solemnia emisit S. Benedicti regulam professus die 21 Nov. anno MDCCCLVI, presbyter die 14 Febr, anno MDCCCLXI ordinatus susceptum Seminarii directionem non minore diligentia ac utilitate gessit, simulque confrates atque externos Philosophiam et Mathesin docuit per 16 fere annos, donec die 4 Junii MDCCCLXXVI Abbas eligeretur. Quo in munere maxime rerum gerendar. dexteritate, miraque in tantis temporum periculis prudentia omnium, quos subditos aut superiores habuit, animos in Sui venerationem et amorem attraxit, sincera pietate, vitæ integritate, morum candore, modestia et affabilitate devinctos tenuit, multimoda doctrina Scriptis etiam in vulgus editis probata nominis celebritatem, quam ipsi nunquam quæsit ab aliis meritis dignusque habitus, quem Academiæ Scient. Socium eligerent. Tandem cœlo maturus venerandus Senex ex hac mortali vita discessit die 19 mens. April anno MDCCCXX sepultus in communi cemeterio extra portam S. Jacobi.

Grati animi indicem et sanctæ memoriæ testem isthunc lapidem posuerunt fratres desolati.

For the above, see *The Scots in Germany*, by Thomas A. Fischer, Appendix, p. 300-1.

Newburgh. Then followed the disastrous chain of events familiar to all of us, culminating in the retreat upon Montrose and the hurried departure of the Chevalier to France, accompanied by the Earl of Mar and others. The Jacobite army, which had been led to believe that the march to Montrose had been arranged in order to meet large reinforcements hourly expected from France, found itself without a commander and abandoned to its fate, while its leaders provided for their own safety. If it was necessary to resort to this expedient to save the Prince, what are we to say to the action of Lord Mar in abandoning those who had rallied to the standard at his call, and who, from the first, had all to lose and nothing to gain from the failure or success of the expedition and a change of dynasty that could scarcely concern them? Lord Mar's Journal makes the best excuse he can for his desertion of the troops under his command. He states that he left with great regret, and in obedience to the express commands laid upon him by the Chevalier. It may be doubted whether such suberviency as this has always been accorded to kings-regnant; we may notice that no such blind submission was shown to Prince Charlie at Derby in 1745, when he wished to push on to London, and his followers, to a man, insisted upon retreat. A better excuse is to be found in the belief that the army would secure better terms from the English Government if its leader withdrew himself altogether, since there could be no peace or mercy granted while he remained at large in Scotland. Be our verdict what it may, we can call to mind a different example in the person of George, tenth and last Earl Marischal, to whose noble mind the sufferings of the humbler members of the expedition were as acutely present as the duty he owed his Prince. He proudly refused to leave the country, and took to the mountains with his men, his words to James being: "Your Majesty must take care of yourself for the sake of your friends. I am going to share the misfortunes of those of them who remain in Scotland; I shall gather them together again and shall not leave without them."¹

It was surely the duty of John Earl of Mar to remain with those he had conducted to ruin, until every man had been

¹ The *Book of Buchan*, edited by J. F. Tocher, p. 355, The Buchan Club, Peterhead, 1910.

dispersed, even if the certainty of the scaffold lay before him. Nor can some writers—Mrs. Thomson among them—quite forgive the Chevalier himself for the circumstances that attended his departure.¹

After the '15 the estate Marischal was forfeit to the English Government, but Thomas Arbuthnot seems to have been continued in his office of factor. In 1716 he is mentioned as "present factor on the estate of Marischal," and himself paid in that year 4s. 6d. feu-duty for houses in Peterhead.² He also acted as factor for John Arbuthnot in Rora, and paid for him in the same year 28 bolls of meal and £14 8s. 10d. of rent. He also paid for "Arbuthnot of Cairngall"³ 7 bolls two firlots of meal in name of teind.

An entry among the *Forfeited Estate Papers* runs as follows :

"1720, September 2 Money received from Thomas Arbuthnot, late factor on the estate of Earl Marischal in Buchan, crop 1718 :—among others, the rent of Rora possessed by him and his brother, but denies receipt of it, it being paid by the comptor's brother to Mr. Alexander Barclay, a creditor on the estate." From this entry we gather that Thomas Arbuthnot had retired from his office of factor before 1720.

Moir says of the Old Bailie that "he was a man of genteel appearance, of great respectability of character, and possessing an uncommon share of good sense and sagacity."

In his father's will, registered 26th June, 1724, he is named executor with his brothers Andrew, Alexander, James and John.

The failure of the '15 did not deter Thomas Arbuthnot, when in his 65th year, from throwing all his energies into the support of Prince Charlie's cause in 1745. His name

¹ Certainly the deception with which this flight was carried out, together with the preceding cruel and useless decision to burn the villages of Auchterarder, Crieff, Blackford, Denning, and Muthel, have left an indelible stain on the memory of James Stuart. The burning of these villages in no way hindered the advance of the Duke of Argyll's troops, and merely consigned some hundreds of unfortunate villagers—including old, bedridden people and small children—to death, some in the flames, some in the snow and cold of that bleak year. The misery of these poor people undoubtedly preyed upon James's mind, and Lord Mar excuses it as best he can in his Journal.

² *Forfeited Estate Papers relating to the Lands of the Earl Marischal.*

³ This would be Alexander, the last Laird.

appears in the list of rebels subsequently published, wherein he is said to have "accepted a factory from the rebels of the estate Marshall forfeited in the year 1715, by virtue whereof he called in the tenants and uplifted some of the farms for the rebels, and exerted himself to the utmost of his power in that service."¹

Thomas Arbuthnot died 24th March, 1762, aged 81, having married Christian, daughter of William Young, merchant of Peterhead, and by her (who died 8th February, 1740) had issue—

- I. James, known as "the Young Bailie," born 1710, of whom presently.
- II. Thomas (Captain), born 1725, who was in the navy, but deserted in 1745 to join Prince Charlie. He was present at Culloden, where he held a lieutenant's commission. To him Prince Charlie presented the miniature of himself which is now in the possession of the Rev. William Arbuthnot of Stechford, Birmingham, an engraving of which will be found facing p. 418. Moir says that he "possessed uncommon mechanical and nautical talents, but he was still more esteemed for the higher qualities of the heart; a benevolence of disposition and warmth of attachment that made him deem no sacrifice or personal exertion painful, when he had it in his power to promote the happiness of his friend." After Culloden he escaped to France, but receiving a free pardon in 1752, he returned to Peterhead, where he became proprietor of a vessel trading to the West Indies, and married in 1766 his cousin, Margaret, daughter of James Arbuthnot of West Rora (p. 256). She died 16th August, 1816, and he 1st December, 1773, having had issue—

(1) James, (Doctor)² of Richmond Hill, Peterhead, born 1767, married (at Peterhead,

¹ Henderson's *Aberdeenshire Epitaphs*, p. 369

² Moir says of this James Arbuthnot that he "may justly be considered as the benefactor of Peterhead. Observing that this town, though a watering place, was almost entirely destitute of a beach for bathing, from the rockiness of

1st July, 1799) Grace, daughter of Buchan of Auchmacoy, sister of Mrs. Thomas Arbuthnot of Nether Kinmundy (p. 273). She died 16th February, 1818, and he 9th February, 1829, in his 62nd year, leaving no issue.

- (2) Thomas, born 1770, went to sea and died in his 21st year, 29th December, 1790.
- (3) Adam, born 22nd September, 1773, was a merchant in Peterhead and founder of the Arbuthnot Museum there, which has been enlarged since his time and forms a most interesting collection of antiques and curios. He died 4th October, 1850.
- (1) Margaret, born in April, died 17th July, 1768, aged three months.
- (2) Christian, born 1771, married George Gordon of Auchleuchries and died in 1828, leaving issue.¹
- (3) Helen, married Dr. Alexander, and had issue.

III. Nathaniel, died in infancy.

I. Jean, baptized at Longside 5th December, 1706. She married (at Peterhead, 28th October, 1731) her cousin, Thomas, son of John Arbuthnot of Whitehill (p. 282).

II. Elspet, baptized at Longside 5th October, 1708.

III. Christian, baptized at Peterhead 17th October, 1712, married (at Peterhead, 20th November, 1735) Captain Alexander Fraser, shipmaster in Peterhead, and had issue.²

its surrounding shores, he excavated, at great labour and expense, two of the noblest basins perhaps in Britain, cut out of the solid rock—one for gentlemen, 90 feet by 30, the other for ladies, 40 feet by 20, filled with fresh water every tide. He has likewise erected, at his own expense, all kinds of warm baths, and superintended, as engineer, the improvement of the piers and harbour of Peterhead. Mr. Arbuthnot is also an excellent chemist and naturalist." James Arbuthnot was author of *An Historical Account of Peterhead*, 1815, and *An Estimate for a Breakwater across the Bay of Peterhead*, 1814.

¹ A daughter of hers, Margaret Gordon, married Ogilvy Wills, banker, and was mother of Eleanor Jane Ogilvy-Wills, wife of James Arbuthnot of Invernietie (p. 285).

² Her daughter, Christian Fraser, married James, eldest son of James Arbuthnot of West Rora (p. 254).

- IV. Anna, baptized at Peterhead 8th February, 1715.
 She married William Scott, merchant in Peterhead.
- V. Mary, baptized at Peterhead 10th August, 1718.
- VI. Margaret, baptized at Peterhead 17th September, 1720. She married (at Peterhead, 8th October, 1751) Bishop Robert Kilgour, and died 22nd February, 1805, leaving issue. She lies buried, with her husband, in old Peterhead Churchyard.
- VII. Isobel, baptized at Peterhead 13th February, 1725, married (at Peterhead, 16th January, 1752) William Ferguson, shipmaster at Peterhead.

James Arbuthnot, eldest son of the "Old Bailie" and Christian Young, and sometimes called the "Young Bailie," was born in 1710. He married first Elizabeth Gordon of Barnes, and secondly Mary, daughter of Dr. Balfour. He died 7th April, 1783, having by his first wife had issue—

- I. Thomas, of Innervidie and Nether Kinmundy, born in 1739, was a merchant in Peterhead and in partnership with his cousin, James Arbuthnot of Dens, (p. 283). He married Jane Buchan of Auchmacoy and died in 1829, leaving issue—

- (1) James, of Nether Kinmundy, baptized at Peterhead 28th December, 1790, was unsound in mind, and his next brother consequently obtained the lands.
- (2) Thomas, of Meethill and of Nether Kinmundy, baptized at Peterhead 2nd July, 1792. He was Provost of Peterhead and purchased part of Invernettie, as well as Meethill, and died unmarried.
- (3) John.
- (4) Alexander.
- (1) Nicola, married her cousin, Robert Arbuthnot of Mountpleasant (p. 283), and died 28th November, 1860.
- (2) Elizabeth, married Dr. Macduff Cordiner of Madras, by whom she had a daughter, Jean, married to James, eldest son of William Arbuthnot of Dens (p. 286).

(3) Mary.

(4) Jean, died unmarried.

II. James, died in infancy.

III. Charles James, baptized at Peterhead 16th October, 1745. (Witnesses, Thomas Arbuthnot, Bailie, and Robert Arbuthnot.) He died young.

I. Margaret, baptized at Peterhead, 22nd November, 1740. She married (at Peterhead, 13th November, 1760) William Forbes, and died 7th January, 1785, leaving issue.

II. Christian, baptized at Peterhead 3rd May, 1744.

III. Elizabeth, baptized at Peterhead 22nd May, 1747.¹

By his second wife, Mary Balfour, James Arbuthnot had issue—

IV. James, baptized at Peterhead 5th December, 1759. (Witnesses, Thomas Arbuthnot and William Scott.)

V. John, of the Company of Scott and Arbuthnot, thread manufacturers of Peterhead. He died 13th April, 1786, aged 26.²

IV. Anne, died unmarried, November, 1790.³

V. Mary, married William Scott, merchant in Peterhead, and died before 11th May, 1791.

Robert Arbuthnot of New Seat, St. Fergus, and of Torhendrie (p. 247), third son of Alexander Arbuthnot in Rora and Elspet Innes, was baptized at Longside 4th February, 1668. Moir tells us that he was "a man of similar disposition to his brother Nathaniel, and not less interesting in his appearance and manners, although his mind was perhaps less highly cultivated." He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Duncan in Innervidie, Longside (a farm on the estate of Nether Kinmundy), and died in 1702 (buried at Longside, 10th November that year, aged 35), leaving issue—

¹ One of James Arbuthnot's daughters by Elizabeth Gordon married, according to John Moir, "Thomas Fraser."

² In the *Aberdeen Commisariat* is recorded the will of "John Arbuthnot, white thread manufacturer of Peterhead, second son of James Arbuthnot, merchant there, 11th May, 1791." He was second son by the second marriage.

³ Her will is also recorded in the *Aberdeen Commisariat*, on the same date as that of her brother John. In both cases the heirs are William and James Scott, their sister Mary's children.

- I. John, of New Seat, who was paying rent to the Earl Marischal's estate from 1713 to 1716.¹
- II. Thomas, baptized at Longside 16th April, 1694. (Witnesses, Nathaniel Arbuthnot and Thomas Arbuthnot, both in Longside.) This Thomas became a doctor in Peterhead, and married his cousin, Margaret, daughter of Andrew Arbuthnot of Hatton (p. 248); according to Moir, he was "unfortunate in business," and went to Canada with his family. Moir mentions two daughters (1) Jane, married to "Dr. Mathison of America;" and (2) Elspet, married to Dr. Robert Campbell of Smiddygreen.
- III. Nathaniel, baptized at Longside 18th March, 1697. (Witnesses, Nathaniel Arbuthnot and William Fraser.)
 - I. Margaret, baptized at Longside, 12th January, 1693. (Witnesses, Nathaniel Arbuthnot in Longside and William Davidson in Lennebo.)
 - II. Janet, baptized at St. Fergus 2nd April, 1700. (Witnesses, Nathaniel Arbuthnot and Alexander Dalgarno.)
 - III. Grizel, baptized at St. Fergus, 15th May, 1701. (Witnesses, Alexander Dalgarno and Thomas Duncan.) She married (at Peterhead, 4th February, 1725) James Park, and was buried in Peterhead Churchyard, 2nd April, 1790, aged 89. She had by James Park a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Andrew Johnston of Aldie, and had a daughter, Grizel Johnston, married to Charles Arbuthnot of Crichtie (p. 249).

¹ *Forfeited Estate Papers relating to the Lands of the Earl Marischal.*

PART V

LINE DESCENDING FROM
ROBERT ARBUTHNOT OF WHITEHILL :

FOURTH SON OF ROBERT ARBUTHNOT OF
SCOTSMILL

LINE DESCENDING FROM ROBERT ARBUTHNOT OF WHITEHILL

WE must now take up the line of Robert Arbuthnot of Whitehill, fourth son of Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill and Beatrix Gordon, from whom descended the Arbuthnots of Arbuthnot House, Peterhead (of whom, at the time of writing, the Rev. William Arbuthnot of Stechford, Birmingham, is the only surviving male representative), and the line of Baronets (now represented by Brigadier-General Sir Dalrymple Arbuthnot, fifth Baronet), with their collaterals. The descendants of the first Baronet's younger brother, George Arbuthnot of Elderslie, will be treated separately in Part VI.

Robert Arbuthnot of Whitehill, a farm on the Inverniettie estate, near Peterhead, living 1670 and 1679, is said to have married Mary, daughter of John Arbuthnot of Cairngall,¹ and to have had the following issue:

¹ Some MS. accounts state that Robert, fourth son of Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill, married as above, but no corroboration of this fact has been found, nor is there a baptismal entry of any such daughter in the Longside registers. For various reasons I am inclined to doubt this marriage altogether. It must be said that the arrangement of the pedigree here (which has in general the approval of the Rev. William Arbuthnot, the greatest living authority on the Aberdeenshire Arbuthnots) differs from John Moir's account in important particulars. Moir states, and Mr. Aitken and other writers have accepted his arrangement, that the fourth son of Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill and Beatrix Gordon was "of New Seat, St. Fergus." This is not borne out by the parish registers of Longside, where it appears that Robert Arbuthnot in New Seat was buried 10th November, 1702, "*aged 35.*" This at once establishes that he cannot have been the son of a woman born in 1606, as Beatrix Gordon was, and other entries have all tended to show that the fourth son of Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill occupied Whitehill, a farm in the neighbourhood of Scotsmill. It seems far more reasonable to regard Robert Arbuthnot of New Seat (see p. 274) as the son of Alexander Arbuthnot in Rora, and a glance at the names of the witnesses to his children's baptisms will show that they are almost all persons related on that side of the family. No absolute proof of this can be advanced, though every effort has been made to arrive at certainty. A box of family papers once in the possession of Sir William Wedderburn Arbuthnot might perhaps have thrown some light on this and other matters, but unfortunately, as has been mentioned, it seems to have disappeared,

- I. John of Whitehill and Toddlehills, of whom presently.
- II. Robert, baptized at Peterhead 26th December, 1677. (Witnesses, Robert and John Arbuthnot.)
- III. Alexander, baptized at Peterhead 30th November, 1679. (Witnesses, Robert Martine and William Arbuthnot.)
- I. Janet, baptized at Peterhead, 25th January, 1670. (Witnesses, Robert Arbuthnot "at Scotsmylne" and William Arbuthnot in Invernettie.)
- II. Mary, baptized at Peterhead, 25th February, 1672. (Witnesses, William Robertson in Downhills and William Robertson, "chamberlain to old Robert Arbuthnot.")
- III. Janet, second of the name, baptized at Peterhead 6th November, 1674. (Witnesses, Paul Keyth and Gilbert B. . . .)

John Arbuthnot of Whitehill and of Toddlehills, whom we have placed as eldest son of his father, but of whom no record of baptism has been found, was almost certainly the John Arbuthnot who married at Peterhead, 26th October, 1693, Barbara Macranald, and secondly (according to John Moir) Miss J. Dunbar, probably belonging to the Dunbars of Grange, near Peterhead. By his first wife he had issue—

- I. Robert, first of Haddo-Rattray, baptized at Peterhead 9th October, 1694, of whom presently.

By his second wife, Miss Dunbar, John Arbuthnot had issue—

- II. John, baptized at Peterhead 18th March, 1701. (Witnesses, John Gordon, tutor of Glenbucket and Alexander Cruikshank, bailie.)

and no one now living is able to give any information as to its fate. The pedigree, then, in this portion, must be regarded as to some extent theoretical, but there is strong reason to believe it cannot be very far wrong. It has been compiled largely from information kindly and generously given by the Rev. William Arbuthnot, who has in the past had access to the valuable family papers at Arbuthnot House, Peterhead, which, at the time of writing, are not available for reference. This has been supplemented by a close study of the parish registers of Peterhead, Longside and St. Fergus, with wills and other records.

- III. Alexander, baptized at Peterhead 16th October, 1702. (Witnesses, Alexander Tulloch in Clerkhill and John Arbuthnot in Rora.)
- IV. Andrew, (baptism not found in the parish registers), shipmaster in Peterhead, born in 1703, married (20th January, 1737) at Peterhead, Anne, daughter of the Rev. Alexander Hepburn, episcopal clergyman of St. Fergus. This lady, who died 19th May, 1795, was very accomplished and was a friend and correspondent of Mrs. Montague, foundress of the "Blue-Stocking Club." Some particulars relating to Anne Hepburn and Mrs. Montague's kindness to her when in very reduced circumstances, will be found in Sir William Forbes' *Life and Writings of James Beattie*, pp. 325-7. Andrew Arbuthnot died of fever at Charlestown in 1740, leaving issue by Anne Hepburn a son, Alexander, born 31st October, 1739 (baptized at Peterhead, 1st November, that year), who was an officer under General Wolfe, to whom he acted as aide-de-camp at the capture of Quebec. He died of yellow fever in the West Indies in 1762.
- V. Thomas of Keith Inch, Peterhead, baptized at Longside 3rd October, 1704. (Witnesses, John Arbuthnot in Rora and John Taylour in Peterhead.) To him we shall return. He was ancestor of the Arbuthnots of Invernettie and Arbuthnot House, Peterhead.
- I. Katherine, baptized at Longside 16th August, 1709. (Witnesses, Alexander Duncan "in Enervedy" and John Hay in Saak.)

Thomas Arbuthnot of Keith Inch, Peterhead, fourth son of John Arbuthnot of Whitehill and Toddlehills, born in 1704, became a merchant and shipowner in Peterhead. He resided in Old Keith Inch Castle, now no longer in existence, which he had acquired from the Keith family. John Moir, the true Boswell of the Arbuthnot family, states that he "possessed a fine countenance and a graceful person—and a most respectable character and agreeable manners;—qualities for

which his son¹ is not less remarkable—and it gives us pleasure to add, his more remote and youthful descendants bid fair to equal the fame of their ancestor.”

Thomas Arbuthnot married (at Peterhead, 28th October, 1731) Jean, daughter of Thomas Arbuthnot, the “Old Bailie” of Peterhead (p. 272), and died at Peterhead 5th February, 1790, leaving issue—

- I. Thomas, baptized at Peterhead 30th September, 1732. (Witnesses, James Arbuthnot and Robert Arbuthnot.)
- II. John, baptized at Peterhead 21st August, 1735. (Witnesses, John Arbuthnot and Thomas Arbuthnot.)
- III. James of Dens, baptized at Peterhead 13th August, 1741. (Witnesses, Thomas Arbuthnot, Bailie, and James Arbuthnot.) Of him presently.
- I. Christian, baptized at Peterhead 19th September, 1733. (Witnesses, Thomas Arbuthnot, Bailie, and Robert Arbuthnot.)
- II. Mary, baptized at Peterhead 13th December, 1739. (Witnesses, Robert Arbuthnot and Alexander Forbes.) She married (at Peterhead, 29th April, 1760) Alexander Leslie of Berrydon, merchant in Aberdeen, and died before 1770.
- III. Elizabeth, baptized at Peterhead 23rd October, 1744. (Witnesses, Thomas Forbes and James Arbuthnot.) She married (June, 1771) James Mackie of Findhorn.
- IV. Charlotte, baptized at Peterhead, 28th October, 1746. (Witnesses, Bailie Thomas Arbuthnot and James Arbuthnot.)
- V. Jean, baptized at Peterhead 5th July, 1749. (Witnesses, Bailie Thomas Arbuthnot and James Arbuthnot.)²

¹ Moir only mentions one son, James Arbuthnot of Dens. He was the only surviving son in 1770, when his father's will was drawn up.

² It is believed that the above account of Thomas Arbuthnot's family is correct, judging by the Peterhead parish registers. Moir mentions only one son, James, and speaks of two daughters living in 1815, viz.: “Mrs. Leslie, widow of Mr. Leslie of Berridon, near Aberdeen, and Mrs. Mackay of Peterhead, both of whom have families.”

James Arbuthnot of Dens and Arbuthnot House, Peterhead, only surviving son of Thomas and Jean Arbuthnot, born 1741,¹ was a prosperous merchant in Peterhead. In 1768 he bought some land in Peterhead, including the present Arbuthnot House property, from Robert Arbuthnot of Haddo-Rattray, and in 1786 he bought the Haddo-Rattray estate from Alexander Farquharson, accountant in Edinburgh (who had bought it in 1772 from Robert Arbuthnot junior), selling it the following year to Alexander Annand, merchant in Aberdeen.

James Arbuthnot died 19th March, 1823, aged 82.² He married (21st February, 1775) Catherine, daughter of George Cumine of Pitully Castle (now a ruin), near Fraserburgh, and by her (who died 6th November, 1787) had issue—

- I. Thomas, baptized at Peterhead 3rd December, 1775. (Witnesses, two Thomas Arbuthnots, senior and junior.) Died 4th August, 1800, aged 24.
- II. George of Invernettie, baptized at Peterhead 17th July, 1777. (Witnesses, David Wilson and Thomas Arbuthnot junior.) Of him presently.
- III. William of Dens, baptized at Peterhead 21st May, 1779 (Witnesses, as before.) Of him presently.
- IV. Robert of Mountpleasant and Ugie Bank, baptized at Peterhead 5th November, 1783, married (1813) Nicola, eldest daughter of Thomas Arbuthnot of Innervidie and Kinmundy (p. 273), and died 28th May, 1858, having had issue by her (who died 28th November, 1860)—
 - (1) Robert of Culter Mills, born 1816, senior partner in the firm of Arbuthnot and McCombie, died 27th June, 1902, unmarried.
 - (2) Thomas, born 1818, died at Peterhead in 1830, unmarried.
 - (3) George, born 1824, died at Calcutta in 1842, unmarried.

¹ According to the inscription on his tombstone at Peterhead he was born 23rd August, 1741 (Henderson's *Aberdeenshire Epitaphs*, p. 367), but the Peterhead parish registers show him to have been baptized on the 13th of August, that year, viz.: "1741 August, 13th. Thomas Arbuthnot, merchant in Peterhead, had a son baptized named James," etc.

² Henderson's *Aberdeenshire Epitaphs*, p. 367.

- (4) Thomas (second of the name), born 1832, died 28th July, 1868.
- (1) Jane, born 1813, married as his second wife William Allerdyce of Aberdeen, and died 28th April, 1887, leaving issue.
- (2) Catherine, born 1815, married Thomas McCombie of Richmond Hill (he died 8th November, 1840, aged 26). She died 20th June, 1887, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen.

George Arbuthnot of Invernettie and Arbuthnot House, Peterhead, second son of James Arbuthnot of Dens and Catherine Cumine, was born in 1777. He was a cotton manufacturer in Glasgow and merchant and first Provost of Peterhead, after the passing of the Reform Bill. He bought the Invernettie estate, and married Mary, daughter of John Hutchison of Cairngall. He died 4th June, 1847, having had issue—

- I. James of Invernettie and Arbuthnot House, born 19th May, 1821, of whom presently.
- II. John George, born 19th May, 1827, died 1855, unmarried.
- III. William Robert, born 25th June, 1834, settled in London and married first (at St. Thomas's, Stamford Hill, 2nd June, 1860) Caroline Elizabeth, daughter of William Marshall, and by her (who died 1st January, 1863, and was buried at Highgate Cemetery) had issue one daughter, Caroline Rose, born 5th July, 1861, now a Sister of Mercy; he married secondly (at Enfield, 16th August, 1866) Helena, daughter of John Skilbeck, by whom he had issue: Mary Helena, born 12th May, 1867, married (14th May, 1891) Ernest Popplewell Pullan, third son of Charles Pullan of Blackheath, Kent and Littlehampton, Sussex, and has issue; and Sibella Margaret, born 4th February, 1870. Mr. W. R. Arbuthnot died 13th April, 1918, and was buried at Brockley Cemetery, Lewisham.
- I. Elizabeth, born 1817, married George Gilbert Anderson, solicitor, Peterhead, and died in 1845.

II. Catharine, born 1819, died in 1837, unmarried.

III. Sibella, born 1825, died 23rd November, 1854.

The eldest son, James Arbuthnot of Invernettie and Arbuthnot House, Peterhead, born 19th May, 1821, married (26th April, 1848) Eleanor Jane, daughter and heiress of Ogilvy Wills, banker (by his wife, Margaret Gordon of Auchleuchries, whose mother was Christian Arbuthnot, daughter of Captain Thomas Arbuthnot, second son of the "Old Bailie"), and died 31st August, 1873, having by her had issue—

I. Norman George, born 27th February, 1849, died in Natal 25th November, 1883.

II. Edward Ogilvy of Invernettie and Arbuthnot House, Peterhead, born 2nd August, 1850, married (1893) Mai Violet von Cassia, daughter of Count von Cassia, and died 27th May, 1912, leaving issue an only daughter and heiress, Leta Mai, born December, 1893, now owner of the Peterhead property.

III. James Ernest, born 11th December, 1851, died 15th December, 1863.

IV. Charles Gordon, born 19th April, 1853, died 8th October, 1870.

V. Adam, born 26th June, 1854, died 21st August, 1913.

VI. William (Rev.), born 14th October, 1858, of whom below.

I. Sibella, born 7th February, 1856, died in February, 1857.

The sixth son of James Arbuthnot of Invernettie and Eleanor Ogilvy-Wills, the Rev. William Arbuthnot, born 14th October, 1858, was ordained at St. Andrew's in 1886; was curate of St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, 1886-8; curate of Christ Church, Linton, parish of Church Gresley, Derbyshire, 1888-9; Chaplain to the Marquis of Breadalbane and incumbent of St. James's, Taymouth, St. Andrews, 1889-1901; curate of St. Stephen's, Birmingham, 1903-8; Vicar of Lea Marston, Birmingham, 1908-16; curate-in-charge of All Saints', Stechford, Birmingham, from 1916; Rector of Icomb, Gloucestershire, from 1919. He married (12th April, 1888) Julia Helen

Maria Ogilvy, only child of Captain Kenneth Bruce Stuart of Glenhead, of the 68th Foot, and has had issue—

- I. Gavin Campbell, born 7th February, 1893, Lieut. North Staffordshire Regiment; served in the European War, and was reported wounded and missing from Gallipoli, August, 1915, and not since heard of.
- I. Dorothea May Ogilvy, born 4th May, 1889.
- II. Clementina Julia Alma Ogilvy, born 7th July, 1890; married (1912) the Rev. Harold Stephen Sharpe, and has issue.

William Arbuthnot of Dens and Downiehills, third son of James Arbuthnot of Dens and Catherine Cumming, born 1779, inherited Dens from his father and purchased Downiehills, near Peterhead. He married (1811) Susan Marshall, sister of Dr. Marshall of Peterhead (she died 12th July, 1859, aged 68) and died 4th January, 1867, aged 88, leaving issue—

- I. James of Natal, South Africa, born 1816, of whom presently.
- II. John, born 1818, died in Ceylon 1849, unmarried.
- III. William, born 1827, died 27th December, 1837, aged 9 years.
- IV. George, born 1831, died in Natal, 30th July, 1856, unmarried.
- I. Catherine, born 25th December, 1812, married John Hutchison of Monyruey, Longside, and died 25th January, 1856.
- II. Margaret, born 1814, married William Alexander of Spring Hill, and Whitehill, near Peterhead, and died in 1907.
- III. Mary, born 1819, married Alexander Nicoll, ship-owner in Peterhead, and died 13th May, 1846.
- IV. Susan, born 1821, died unmarried.
- V. Nicola, born 1823, married (1844) John Ross of Arnage.

James Arbuthnot, eldest son of William Arbuthnot of Dens and Susan Marshall, went to Natal and settled there. He married Jean, only child of Dr. Macduff Cordiner, E.I.C.S., by his wife, Elizabeth Arbuthnot, daughter of Thomas Arbuthnot,

of Kinmundy (p. 273), and by her, who died in 1907, had issue—

I. William Thomas, who married Constance Leigh, and had issue—

- (1) Leigh.
- (2) Edgar, married Georgie Hepom and has issue : (1) Maynard ; (2) William Grahame, and ; (3) Daphne Rubina.
- (3) Oliver Cromwell.
- (4) William.
- (5) Fitzwilliam, married Edith Davey, and has issue : (1) William Osborne ; (1) Frances Edith ; (2) Olivia ; and (3) Geraldine.
- (1) Carina, married Douglas Giles.
- (2) Ethel, married her cousin, Major William Alexander of Spring Hill and Whitehill.

II. Macduff, who married Jane Bruce, and has issue—

- (1) Bruce ;
- (2) Nigel ;
- (1) Christina, married George Blake ; and
- (2) Phyllis.

III. Hubert, married Evangeline, daughter of Archdeacon Barker, and has issue—

- (1) Guy ;
- (2) Trent, married Theodora Kenmure ;
- (3) Eric ; and
- (1) Constance, married Willoughby Mogride.

IV. Fitzjames, married Elizabeth Crocker, and has issue—

- (1) St. George Ray, married Mary Hugo, and has issue : (1) Maurice Grahame ; (1) Eileen Mabel ; and (2) Mildred Cecile.
- (2) Hugo.
- (3) Guy Lestrangle.
- (1) Mabel.
- (2) Aline Grace.

V. St. George, married Blanche Barker, and has issue—

- (1) Nicola Buchan, married Tyrone Tatham.
- (2) Dulcie.
- (3) Josephine.

VI. Crofton, married Mary Maby, and has issue—

- (1) Eugene, born 1899.
- (2) Crofton Keith, born 1902.
- (3) Donald Cordiner, born 1903.
- (4) John, born 1910.
- (1) Doreen, born 1898.
- (2) Joan, born 1903.

I. Eva, married Edward Hawksworth.

II. Susan, married Captain Davey.

Robert Arbuthnot, first of Haddo-Rattray, eldest son of John Arbuthnot of Whitehill, was born, according to the inscription on his tombstone in old Peterhead Churchyard, on the 29th September, 1695.¹

On 10th July, 1740, Robert Arbuthnot, "merchant in Peterhead," bought from "Harie Elphinstone" some land in Peterhead, comprising the property in Broad Street on which Arbuthnot House now stands. His son received a charter of confirmation from the Merchant Maiden Hospital of Edinburgh on the 30th August, 1768, but sold it the following month to James Arbuthnot of Dens, as we have mentioned. In 1747 Robert Arbuthnot senior purchased the house and lands of Haddo-Rattray in the parish of St. Fergus from Elizabeth Black, widow of Patrick Farquharson of Invery, this estate having been for some generations in possession of the Blacks of Haddo, who had acquired it from the Watsons.² Robert Arbuthnot died at Peterhead, 15th September, 1756. He is referred to as follows in the *Aberdeen Journal* of the 28th of that month: "On Tuesday last, died at Peterhead, Robert Arbuthnot of Haddo, Esquire, merchant in that place. A gentleman whose many valuable qualifications rendered him an honour to his country, an ornament to society, and a public blessing; so that his death is unfeignedly regretted by all ranks."

¹ It is suggested that the inscription, composed over sixty years later by his widow and son, may perhaps err as to the year, though the day of the month is doubtless correct, as the following entry in the Peterhead parish registers most probably refers to him: "1694, October 9, John Arbuthnot in Peterhead had a son baptized Robert: witnesses, Robert Arbuthnot and John Young."

² For some details regarding the proprietors of Haddo-Rattray, see Henderson's *Aberdeenshire Epitaphs*, pp. 73-4.

He had married at Peterhead, 17th February, 1719, Mary Petrie, of whom nothing is known, and had issue—

- I. George, baptized at Peterhead 20th June, 1721. (Witnesses, Thomas Arbuthnot and Mr. William Dunbar.) Died young.
- II. John, died young.
- III. Robert, second of Haddo-Rattray, baptized at Peterhead 24th October, 1728. (Witnesses, Thomas Arbuthnot and Richard Gormond.) Of him presently.
 - I. Barbara, baptized at Peterhead 20th March, 1736. (Witnesses, Thomas and Alexander Arbuthnot.) She married Dr. David Wilson of Peterhead, and died *s.p.*
 - II. Mary, married at Peterhead 10th June, 1753, William Fraser of Mains of Inverugie.
 - III. Jane, died unmarried.

Robert Arbuthnot, second of Haddo-Rattray, third and only surviving son of Robert Arbuthnot and Mary Petrie, born 1728, was for some time a merchant in Peterhead, but afterwards removed to Edinburgh. He succeeded his father in the estate of Haddo-Rattray and the Peterhead property in 1756, receiving a charter of confirmation of the former from the Earl of Erroll in his favour, dated 2nd March, 1767. As has been mentioned, he sold the Peterhead property to his cousin, James Arbuthnot of Dens in 1768. In September, 1772, he sold Haddo to Alexander Farquharson, accountant in Edinburgh. From him it was purchased in 1786 by James Arbuthnot of Dens, who sold it the following year to Alexander Annand. Still later, it came into the possession of the Bremners, and its present owner, Miss Bremner, kindly afforded the writer every facility for seeing Haddo-Rattray House, when, in the summer of 1917, she made a pilgrimage into Buchan for the purpose of visiting various spots associated with the Arbuthnots. The house, built in the Queen Anne style, has a cheerful and homely appearance, contrasting strangely with the desolate country all around it. It stands near the sea, in the parish of Crimond, not far from the Loch of Strathbeg, an arm of the sea that runs inland near Rattray Head. In one of the

pannelled upper rooms the writer was shown a press that held a secret. Its bottom could be lifted out, disclosing a deep compartment reaching to the level of the ground floor. Peering downwards, it was possible to see, quite distinctly, at the base of this, the arched entrance to a secret passage. We were told that this passage was believed to lead to the Loch of Strathbeg, and to have been formerly used by smugglers.

It is not known at what date Robert Arbuthnot settled in Edinburgh as a banker, but it was previous to 1772, in which year he suffered heavy pecuniary losses, through the failure of his firm, Arbuthnot-Guthrie.¹ He was living in Edinburgh in the year 1773, and a natural love of learning drew him into the best literary circles of that city. In that year he made the acquaintance of Dr. Johnson, then in Edinburgh, being introduced to him by Boswell, who writes as follows: "I presented to him Mr. Robert Arbuthnot, a relation of the celebrated Dr. Arbuthnot, and a man of literature and taste," etc.²

Robert Arbuthnot was for many years Secretary of the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of the Manufactures and Fisheries of Scotland, succeeding Mr. Guthrie in that office. He retained it until his death, and was succeeded in it by his eldest surviving son, William, afterwards the first Baronet.

Robert Arbuthnot was possessed of a genial and attractive disposition, and his many friends stood by him loyally through all his troubles and vicissitudes. Conspicuous among them was Sir Robert Murray Keith, British Ambassador in Vienna. Many letters addressed to him by Robert Arbuthnot are in the MS. Room at the British Museum.

In one, dated from Edinburgh, 23rd February, 1776, he refers to his son Robert, then being educated at Glasgow, as follows:

"Altho' I believe a Glasgow education is not thought to be very favourable to the graces, yet I do not think him altogether deficient in them. . . ." Continuing, he mentions

¹ This we learn from an allusion in the diary of his grandson, George Arbuthnot of Elderslie, written fifty-four years later, and quoted on p. 331. See also *Memoirs of a Banking House*, by Sir William Forbes.

² Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. v. p. 29.



Robert Arbuthnot of Haddo-Rattray (d. 1803).
From a portrait at Warthill.



Mary Urquhart, wife of Robert Arbuthnot of Haddo-Rattray.
From a portrait in the possession of Brigadier-General Sir Doltymple Arbuthnot, Barond.

his intention to send his son to Douai the following April or May, and then perhaps to Oxford or Warrington. He writes: "There is something showy and splendid in the idea of an Oxford education, yet there are some disadvantages attend it which alarm me a good deal, besides the enormous expence of it, even supposing I succeed in procuring the Exhibition, whereas the charge of the education at Warrington is very moderate, and I have heard an excellent character of the masters," etc.

In a letter dated 1st August, the same year, he writes:

"Amidst the various misfortunes with which I have been surrounded, I have had many comforts; without doors I have not lost or offended a single friend that I know of, and at home I have every satisfaction that belongs to the idea of domestic felicity. . . ."

In 1759 he had married Mary, daughter of John Urquhart of Craigston and Cromarty, of a very ancient Scottish family, allied with many of the great northern houses, and descending in the female line from Robert Bruce.¹ The descent of Mary Urquhart is an interesting one, and it has been found possible to make out all but three of her *seize quartiers*—a genealogical puzzle not often even partially solved when the subject is removed from us by several generations. Her descent, tabled in this particular form, will be found in the diagram facing p. 294. It will be noticed that the chart breaks down in the line of Fraser of Tyrie, a cadet of the Frasers of Philorth. Though no proof is obtainable, it seems likely that Margaret Fraser, grandmother of Mary Urquhart, was the daughter of James Fraser of Tyrie, who was living in 1685 and died about 1705. Margaret's grandfather would then be Alexander Fraser of Tyrie, whose wife was Christian Abercromby. It is therefore probable that the sixth shield from the left-hand side should bear the arms of Abercromby.

The home of Mary Urquhart's childhood was Craigston Castle, formerly called Craigsinray, and is one of the finest remaining examples of the old feudal castles of Scotland.

¹ *Add. MSS.* 35,510, ff. 61-2 and 252.

² See *Burke's Royal Families*, vol. ii. No. cviii.

Though it has suffered slightly from tasteless restoration and has lost its corner turrets, of which only the sculptured bases remain, it is otherwise almost unspoilt, and the fine arch connecting the two wings that flank the entrance, surmounted by a richly corbelled parapet, is one of the most perfect in Scotland. The castle was built between 1604 and 1607 by John Urquhart "of Craigsintray," known as the Tutor of Cromarty, having had charge of the estates of his great-nephew, Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, during the latter's minority.

From the Tutor of Cromarty descended the line of Urquhart of Craigston, which ended (in the male line) in the middle of the nineteenth century. The last of the Urquharts—Mary Isabella, heiress of Craigston—carried that estate into the family of Pollard of Castle Pollard, Co. Westmeath, Ireland, of which Captain Michael Pollard-Urquhart of Craigston is now the head.

One of the intimate friends of Robert Arbuthnot was Dr. Beattie, who owed to his friend's interest his appointment to the chair of Moral Philosophy and Logic at Marischal College, Aberdeen. On Mr. Arbuthnot's proposing the appointment to Beattie, the latter, as Sir William Forbes relates, "heard the proposal with amazement, conceiving such a situation to be an object altogether beyond his grasp. . . . His friend, however, willing to try what could be done, prevailed on the late Earl of Erroll . . . with whom he lived in much intimacy, to apply, by means of Lord Milton, to the late Duke of Argyll, who at that time was supposed to have the chief interest in the disposal of such offices as became vacant in Scotland; and, fortunately for Beattie, Lord Erroll received a favourable answer. In consequence of which, on the 8th October, 1760, he was installed professor of moral philosophy and logic in Marischal College."¹

In a note Sir William says: "The gentleman to whose active zeal and friendly interposition on this occasion, Beattie owed so much, was Robert Arbuthnot Esq., Secretary to the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures at Edinburgh, but who, at that time, resided chiefly and carried on business as a merchant at Peterhead in Aberdeenshire. Beattie and

¹ *Life of Dr. Beattie*, by Sir William Forbes, 1824, edn., pp. 10-11.

he had become acquainted on the removal of the former to Aberdeen ; and a friendship was soon formed between them, which terminated only with their lives. Mr. Arbuthnot, who was nearly related to the celebrated Dr. Arbuthnot, the friend of Pope and Swift, to a considerable share of classical learning added an intimate acquaintance with the best authors in the English language, particularly in poetry and belles-lettres, of whom he well knew how to appreciate the respective merits, and with the most favourite passages of whose works his memory was stored beyond that of almost any man I ever knew. He had likewise read the most esteemed writers in the French and Italian languages. By these means, his conversation was uncommonly entertaining and instructive. He possessed likewise an inexhaustible flow of spirits, which had helped to support him through a variety of distressful circumstances, to which it had been his lot to be exposed. And to all this he added a vein of delicate and peculiar humour and flashes of merriment, that were wont to set the table in a roar."

Sir William Forbes, who published his life of Beattie in 1806, regretted that, owing to Mr. Arbuthnot's failing health, he was not able to assist him in preparing the work—"a misfortune," he says, "which I feel as I proceed almost in every page."

Beattie himself bears witness to the excellent qualities of his friend in a letter to Mrs. Montague, dated from Aberdeen, 18th December, 1773. He writes: "It gives me pleasure to hear that your nephew finds Edinburgh so much to his mind. Mr. Arbuthnot will do everything in his power to make it agreeable to him. To the soundest principles, and to the best heart, to a very extensive knowledge both of men and books and to a great delicacy and correctness of taste, Mr. Arbuthnot joins a vein of pleasantry and good humour peculiar to himself, which renders his conversation equally agreeable and instructive. His character, in many particulars, resembles that of his namesake and near relation, the famous Dr. John Arbuthnot ; but my friend has none of those singularities of manner, which sometimes rendered his great kinsman somewhat ridiculous. I am convinced that your nephew and he will be mutually agreeable to each other ; and as Mr.

Arbuthnot is well acquainted with everybody in Edinburgh, he is one of the properest persons there to give advice to the other, in regard to his company," etc.¹

Among the papers at Warthill the following has been found, endorsed: *Extract from the Commonplace Book of the late A. J. Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, sent by his son to Sir William Arbuthnot.* It runs:

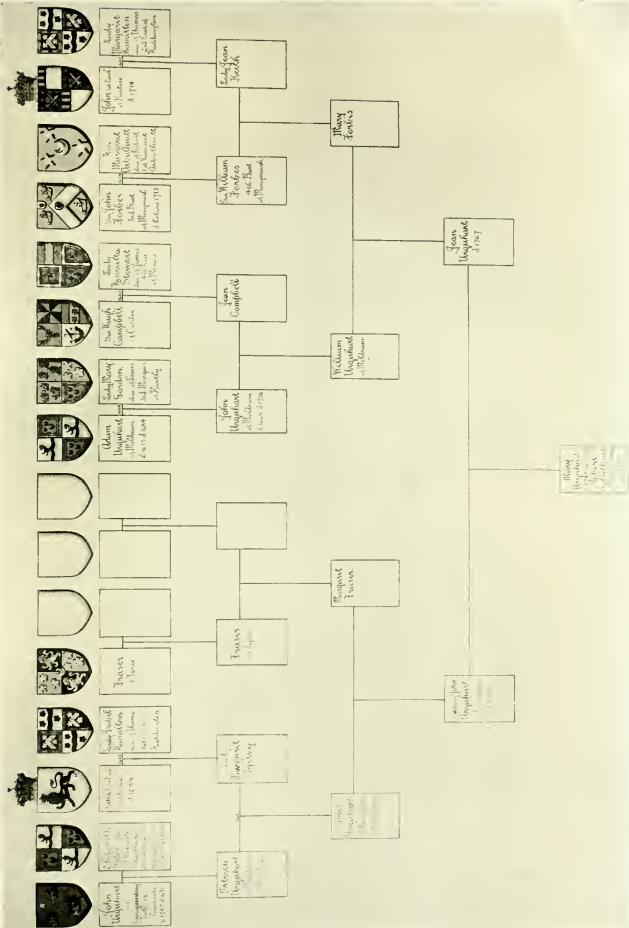
"5th November, 1803. This morning died Robert Arbuthnot, Secretary to the Board of Trustees in Scotland,—my worthy, beloved and much respected friend. He had a few days before completed his 75th year. Notwithstanding a difference of age (near 20 years) between him and myself, we felt for each other the most perfect affection and the most unbounded and intimate confidence and communication (community?) of sentiment. He was my father's intimate friend, and he took me up as it were by inheritance. I never knew a man who possessed more of the kindly affections, with a more perfect probity and rectitude of thinking than he did. Without pretensions to learning, he had as much as falls to the share of most men who are not professed scholars; and in English literature and belles-lettres, he had few who were equally conversant, and who could form sounder judgments.

"He had uncommon wit, which flowed from him so easily, that he appeared to be unconscious of possessing it. How many delightful hours have I spent in his company! and ever with equal improvement and delight. His principles were most congenial to my own, and our opinions in all matters of serious concern, perfectly in unison. It is a loss to me that can never be repaired. I loved him as a brother. The benignant expression of his countenance, which lighted up with a smile of affection whenever we met, I can never lose its remembrance. . . ."

"I have now got a portrait of him, copied from the picture belonging to his widow, painted by Cotes, on which I set much value."

As has been said, Robert Arbuthnot married in 1759

¹ Forbes' *Life of Beattie*, p. 186.



An attempt to construct the Seize-Quarters of Mary Urquhart.

Mary, daughter of Captain John Urquhart of Craigston and Cromarty; by her he had the following issue :

- I. Robert, born about 1760 or 1761, was for a short time in the Army, and was present with his brother John at the Siege of Gibraltar, 1779-1783. He was subsequently private secretary to his father's old friend, Sir Robert Murray Keith, British Ambassador at Vienna. Robert Arbuthnot was chosen to be the companion of Prince Augustus, Duke of Sussex,¹ in some of his European travels, and it would seem that this post was not without its anxieties, as appears by a letter to Robert Arbuthnot from his brother George, written some years later, in which, after referring to the troubles in Ceylon in 1803, the latter remarks : " I have often admired you for your firmness and composure at the time when Prince Augustus ran away from you, but that was a mere joke to this dismal catastrophe," etc. Many letters addressed by Robert Arbuthnot to Sir Robert Murray Keith are to be found among the latter's correspondence in the MS. Room at the British Museum. From the circumstance that he constantly refers, in these letters, to various persons under the figures of " 300," " 164," etc., it is possible that he was writing thus cautiously of members of the Royal Family, or other personages it was inexpedient

¹ Prince Augustus, like several of the other sons of George III, gave his family a good deal of anxiety. In 1793 he married secretly, in Rome, Lady Augusta Murray, much to the King's annoyance. In other and more unexpected ways he seems to have been the *enfant terrible* of the Royal Family, giving a conspicuous support to all the progressive measures of the day, and placing himself rather excitedly in the van of movements for the abolition of the slave trade, Catholic Emancipation, removal of disabilities against the Jews, abolition of the corn laws, and the Reform Bill. He was so passionately interested in the latter measure that, on its becoming law, he remarked : " Thank God he had lived to see that day. Now he did not care what occurred to him." He abandoned Lady Augusta Murray (who was several years older than himself) a few years after their marriage, and in 1809 applied for the custody of his two children by her, having heard with great disapproval that she was bringing them up as " princes and princesses." He sided with Princess Charlotte in the quarrels with her father, entering the lists as her champion, and asking some very uncomfortable questions in Parliament regarding the treatment of his niece by the Regent. He brought his rather erratic career to a close in 1843.

to mention by name. We have, however, no key to his meaning, and a diary of his, formerly in possession of Sir William Wedderburn Arbuthnot, cannot now be found, having vanished with the other papers referred to on pp. 279-80, *note*. Possibly it would have thrown light on the mysterious allusions in the letters. In 1801 Robert Arbuthnot went out to Ceylon with his brother George, to take up the post of Chief Secretary in that island. The Governor—the Hon. Frederick North, afterwards fifth Earl of Guildford—treated the two brothers with the utmost kindness, and they took up their abode in Government House, Colombo. George Arbuthnot, who was at first appointed by Mr. North Deputy-Secretary to the Government of Ceylon, soon gave up this post and removed to Madras, but Robert remained in Ceylon, and was with Mr. North in 1803 during the most troubled period of his administration. All through the appalling days after news of the massacre of British troops at Kandy reached Colombo, Mr. North, whose coolness and presence of mind seem momentarily to have deserted him, is said to have found his chief support and to have placed his utmost reliance in the calm judgment and fearless confidence of his secretary. “What a blessing it is that your strong nerves and cool, steady head have not forsaken you on this trying occasion!” wrote his brother George from Madras on the 25th July, and writing to his mother on 6th August, George referred as follows to the situation in Ceylon: “When both Mr. North and Gen. Macdowall have been overpowered by mental affliction, my Brother’s energy and activity have increased;—his sound, cool head and his strong nerves have never for a moment forsaken him; you and my Father may be proud of having such a son!”¹ Robert Arbuthnot retired from his

¹ Some further account of affairs in Ceylon at this date will be found on pp. 342-6, where the career of George Arbuthnot, first of Elderslie, is treated.

post in 1806, and returned to Europe. His promising career was cut short prematurely. He sailed from Cadiz in 1809, but the vessel was never heard of again, and was assumed to have foundered.¹ By his will, which was proved 27th March, 1810, by his brother William, he left—after various bequests to near relations—an intaglio ring to Mr. North, together with £100 to buy a piece of plate, “as a mark of my respectful regard and attachment.”

II. John (Captain), R.A., born 30th April, 1762 (baptized at the old Episocopal chapel in the Cowgate, Edinburgh, 2nd May), who distinguished himself at the siege of Gibraltar (1779-1783), and died at Curaçoa in 1796.

III. William (Sir), first Baronet, born 24th December, 1766 (baptized at the Cowgate Chapel 28th of that month), of whom presently.

IV. Thomas, baptized at the Cowgate Chapel 8th January, 1770.²

V. George of Elderslie, Surrey, born in Edinburgh 4th December, 1772, of whom presently.

I. Jane, born in Edinburgh 7th April, 1763, died in her brother George's house in Upper Wimpole Street, London, 2nd February, 1819, unmarried. She was buried at St. John's Chapel, Regent's Park, where there is a tablet to her memory.

¹ The obituary notice in the *Scots Magazine* for March, 1810, runs as follows: “Feb. 1809. Robert Arbuthnot Esq., late Chief Secretary for the island of Ceylon (eldest son of the late Robert Arbuthnot Esq., merchant in Edinburgh), the loss of whom is deeply lamented by his relations and friends. He was on board his Majesty's schooner *Viper*, which sailed from Cadiz for Gibraltar in February, 1809, and we are very sorry to say, has never since been heard of.”

² There is a reference to Thomas Arbuthnot (who must have died young) in the will of his uncle, Thomas Arbuthnot of Keith Inch, dated 1st March, 1770, as follows: “And as the defunct's deceased brother Robert Arbuthnot ordered his son to pay to the defunct's daughter Mary a legacy of 20 guineas, which was accordingly paid to her at her marriage, the executor (i.e., James Arbuthnot of Dens, only surviving son of the testator) is appointed to pay to Thomas Arbuthnot, son of the defunct's nephew, Robert Arbuthnot of Haddo, merchant in Edinburgh, £25 sterling,” etc.

II. Mary, born 26th April, 1764 (baptized at the Cowgate Chapel 29th of that month), died young in Edinburgh, 8th March, 1781. Buried in the churchyard of Greyfriars, Edinburgh.

III. Elizabeth Barbara, born 2nd June, 1765 (baptized at the Cowgate Chapel 9th of that month), of whom presently.

Robert Arbuthnot, second of Haddo-Rattray, died in Edinburgh 5th November, 1803, and was buried in the churchyard of Greyfriars. A simple stone marks the spot, the inscription running as follows :

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
ROBERT ARBUTHNOT ESQ.
WHO DIED
5th NOVEMBER, 1803, AGED 75.

ALSO
MARY ARBUTHNOT
HIS DAUGHTER
WHO DIED
8th MARCH, 1791, AGED 16.

Mrs. Robert Arbuthnot survived her husband fifteen years, living on in Queen Street, Edinburgh, till her death in 1818. She was a member of the Roman Catholic Church, and was in the habit of attending service at St. Mary's, Broughton Street; and though, on her death, her body was buried in the then new family vault under St. John's Episcopal Church in Prince's Street, her two surviving sons, William (afterwards the first Baronet) and George (afterwards of Elderslie), caused a beautiful tablet, ornamented with figures of Faith and Charity by Chantrey, to be placed in St. Mary's as a memorial of her connection with that church. In 1865 St. Mary's Church was destroyed by fire, which broke out in the adjoining theatre, several lives being lost and many valuable pictures and monuments destroyed. Among the relics that escaped was the tablet to Mary Urquhart, and her grandson, Mr. George Clerk Arbuthnot of Mavisbank, having obtained permission to remove it, it was subsequently erected on the south wall

of St. John's, near the chancel. The inscription runs as follows :

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
MRS. MARY ARBUTHNOT
WHO BY THE UNIFORM PIETY OF HER LIFE
AND HER CONSCIENTIOUS DISCHARGE OF HER DUTIES
AS A WIFE AND MOTHER
LEFT AN EXAMPLE WORTHY OF IMITATION.
HER SURVIVING SONS
WILLIAM AND GEORGE
ERECTED THIS MONUMENT AS A TRIBUTE OF AFFECTION
FOR A MOTHER WHO WAS DEEPLY BELOVED WHEN LIVING
AND LAMENTED WHEN REMOVED FROM THEM
BY DEATH ON THE 14th DAY OF MAY, 1818,
AGED 73 YEARS.

The third daughter of Robert Arbuthnot and Mary Urquhart, Elizabeth Barbara Arbuthnot, was born on the 2nd June, 1765. She married (at Craigston, 21st June, 1793), as his second wife John Hunter (afterwards Sir John Hunter), British Consul at Seville and St. Lucar, Spain. He had previously married (in 1787) Margaret, eldest daughter of Dr. Charles Congalton of Edinburgh, by whom he had at least two daughters. Mr. Hunter belonged to a cadet branch of the ancient family of Hunter of Hunterston, and matriculated his arms, with proper marks of difference, in 1775, as descended from that family.¹

In 1802 Mr. and Mrs. Hunter went to Lisbon, where Mr. Hunter acted as Consul-General during the absence in England of the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot, who at that time held that post. In August of the same year Mr. Hunter was appointed H.M.'s Consul-General and Assistant of Embassy at the Court of Madrid, and proceeded thither with the additional status of *Chargé d'Affaires*, which he retained until the arrival, in September, of Mr. John Hookham Frere, the British Envoy.

Mr. and Mrs. Hunter found themselves in Madrid at an exceedingly critical period, and it is much to be regretted that no letters of theirs are extant written at this time. War

¹ Burke's *Armoury*, *Hunter of St. Lucar*.

between England and France had been renewed in May, 1803, and in the course of that and the succeeding year, protests were constantly transmitted to the Spanish Government, relating to many and flagrant breaches of neutrality on their part. By the Treaty of Ildephonso, Spain had bound herself to give military support to Napoleon in any war he might undertake, whether the interests of Spain were involved or not. It was therefore arguable that from the moment of war being renewed in 1803, Spain might be treated as a belligerent. On the understanding that she would not act in accordance with the terms of this treaty, the British Government forbore to declare war, and a precarious neutrality was maintained, each side watching the other with unceasing vigilance and suspicion. It was soon found that Spain, in lieu of armed support, was supplying France with vast sums of money to aid her in her operations—which included preparations for the invasion of England—and in the summer of 1804 further disquieting news reached the Admiralty of naval preparations being pushed forward at Ferrol and other Spanish ports.

In August, 1804, Mr. John Frere left Madrid for England, his brother, Mr. Bartle Frere, remaining in charge of the Embassy, little anticipating, no doubt, the sudden crisis that was to develop in the Spanish capital.

In September Mr. Hunter received a letter, dated the 15th of that month, from Admiral Cochrane,¹ then stationed off Ferrol, describing the suspicious activities of the Spanish squadron in that port. They had "dropped down the harbour, having on board a number of Spanish troops, intending to carry them to the province of Biscay, then in insurrection." This pretext Admiral Cochrane stigmatized as "too flimsy to go down," and sent a message to the Spanish Admiral, informing him that "as the French openly declared they should sail with the Spanish Squadron, he should attack them."²

¹ Admiral the Hon. Alexander Cochrane, sixth son of Thomas, eighth Earl of Dundonald. It was on Admiral Cochrane's reports as to the Spanish preparations for war that the British Government took action.

² The facts mentioned by Admiral Cochrane were immediately communicated by Mr. Hunter to Lord Nelson, in a letter dated from Madrid, 22nd September, 1804. They are detailed by Nelson in a letter addressed to Captain John Gore, H.M.S. *Medusa*, his letter being dated from the *Victory*, 13th October.—See *Despatches and Letters of Vice-Admiral Viscount Nelson*, edited by Sir N. Nicolas, vol. vi. pp. 240-1.

This threat, Mr. Hunter wrote Nelson, had an "almost instantaneous effect." The Spanish squadron returned to harbour, the troops were put on shore and ordered to march to their destination by land. This termination of the affair was regarded as very satisfactory, and it was hoped that no other untoward incident would occur. But ominous news shortly reached Madrid. It has been said that Mr. John Frere had left for England in August. He stopped for a short time in Corunna on his way, and wrote from thence on the 11th September to warn his brother that the appearance of things there was "very suspicious and alarming, to say the least of it. An armament is going on, and troops embarking. . . . You must remonstrate against these preparations. . . ."

Mr. Bartle Frere immediately made representations to the Spanish Court, but the replies he received were evasive and unsatisfactory. On the 5th October Mr. Hunter wrote to Lord Harrowby, then Foreign Secretary, enclosing copies of the correspondence which had passed between Mr. Frere and the Spanish minister, Don Pedro Cevallos. The latter declared that all rumours as to a naval armament were "wholly unfounded."

On the 18th October Mr. Frere received instructions to present an ultimatum to the Spanish Government, upon which he immediately demanded an audience with Don Pedro, which was granted to him on the 21st. Meanwhile, on the 20th, Mr. Hunter despatched the following letter to Lord Nelson, who was with his squadron in the Mediterranean, lying in wait for the French fleet under Villeneuve, at Toulon :

MADRID,
October 20, 1804.

MY LORD,

I write this at the express desire of Mr. B. Frere, His Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires* at this Court, to acquaint your Lordship that on Thursday night he received a courier from London, with instructions which require his going to the Escorial to confer with the Minister of State on certain points of such importance, that if a very satisfactory answer is not

* *Memoir of John Hookham Frere*, prefaced to his Works, edited by his nephew, Sir H. Bartle Frere.

* *Papers relative to the Discussions with Spain in 1802, 1803, and 1804*. London, 1805.

given by this government, a rupture will probably ensue. The earliest information shall be given to your Lordship of the Result. I have the honour to be, with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble Servant,

JOHN HUNTER.

The Right Hon.

Lord Viscount Nelson.¹

Mr. Frere's interview with Don Pedro Cevallos on the 21st October was of such an unsatisfactory character that he was obliged to declare that "I must expect a more explicit answer, or comply with the orders to demand my passports."²

On November 2nd no improvement in the aspect of affairs having taken place, Mr. Frere wrote definitely to demand passports for himself, Mr. Hunter and their families, "together with an order to the Governor of the Council to afford them as well as myself such a guard as shall be necessary to escort us to the frontiers."

The following day Mr. Frere again pressed for his passports, and on the 5th, being still without them, he wrote a further letter, in which he expressed his belief that "His Catholic Majesty does not wish I should be reduced to the very extraordinary alternative, either of departing without passports, or of remaining at Madrid, my functions being at an end; for I must consider them as such, when I do not receive full satisfaction to the demands of my Government."

The passports and guards were provided on the 7th of November, and the British envoys, with their families, left Madrid on the 14th for Lisbon, on the way to England. The Spanish Government formally declared war on England on the 12th December following.

The war dragged on for several years, Spain remaining the nominal ally, but actually the helpless vassal, of France, until, in 1808, the arrogance of Napoleon in appointing his brother Joseph King of Spain, roused the national spirit of the people, and they rose as one man against the insulting domination of

¹ This letter is among the Nelson Correspondence at the British Museum, *Add. MSS.*, 34,926, f. 118.

² *Papers relative to the Discussions with Spain, etc.* Letter from Mr. Bartle Frere to Lord Harrowby, 27th October, 1804.

France. England now found herself the ally of a new Spain, and Canning promptly despatched military forces to assist in expelling the French invaders. This was the commencement of the Peninsular War, which was not brought to a close till 1813, when Sir Arthur Wellesley succeeded in driving the French finally across the Pyrenees.

Meanwhile, in March, 1805, while Spain was still our enemy, Mr. Hunter seems to have returned to Madrid, this time in the capacity of Agent for the Release of British Prisoners of War, his mission being recognized by the Spanish Government. Only a few months later, the victory of Trafalgar in October, 1805, dealt a crushing blow, not only to France but also to the dwindling naval power of Spain.

Mr. Hunter returned to England in 1809, and, on the 10th December, 1813, he was knighted by the Prince Regent at Carlton House. On this occasion he was reappointed Consul-General at Madrid. He was there in 1814 and 1815, and on the 27th July of the latter year he wrote to Sir Henry Wellesley, British Ambassador at Madrid, as follows :

"Although I have no immediate intention of soliciting leave to retire, yet it will not be deemed unnatural that, at my time of life and after a long period of active service, I should occasionally contemplate the *possibility* of such retirement and that I should wish to assure myself of a comfortable subsistence."

In another letter, written on the 25th November that year to Mr. William Hamilton, he mentions his failing health as follows :

". . . I am reduced to a state of weakness such as I never before experienced." He goes on to say, however, that "during all this painful term of indisposition, I have never found it necessary for a single day to neglect the duties of my office."

On the 15th March, 1816, he wrote to the authorities at home, drawing their attention to an application he had made

¹ Confidential Memorandum for the Right Hon. Sir Henry Wellesley, Foreign Office, 72/178.

in January for leave of absence, and stating that his health was again giving anxiety.* He was still at Madrid on the 24th May, but must soon after have started on the homeward journey, for he, with his wife and his two daughters, Jane and Margaret, reached Bordeaux on the 20th June, he being then in a state of extreme weakness. Writing after his death to an old Portuguese servant, Juana Serba, who had long assumed the place of an intimate friend of the family, Lady Hunter says :

“ Margaret wrote to you from Vitoria. I was then begun to be very miserable, and had not courage to write myself, for I saw my beloved husband growing worse every day. Still, his anxiety to get to England kept him up, and that alone gave him strength to continue the journey. Many days before our arrival at Bordeaux, he was obliged to be lifted out of the coach and put at once upon a bed, where he lay till it was time to set out again. You may suppose what a life of *agony* this was to me, and every day terrified he would be laid up altogether at some out-of-the-way, uncomfortable place, where I could get no assistance for him. However, in that respect God Almighty heard my prayers and enabled him to arrive at Bordeaux, but which it was ordained he was never more to quit. . . . He never *absolutely* said he thought himself dying, but from his conversation at times I think he did. He often said to me how happy he was at having been by his mother so early well instructed in religion, as the impression had always remained steadily in his mind, and that he had never felt a doubt or difficulty in his life, which was *now* such a happiness. . . . He expressed such *delight* in having me constantly by him. He grew gradually weaker, without suffering pain, which was to me a blessing, for *that* I could not have stood. . . . At a quarter past four on Wednesday afternoon, the third of July, he gently breathed his last, without any pain whatever, and a sweet smile came over his countenance the minute after, which minimas* said they were sure was just to let us know he was happy in heaven, but O God, how wretched I felt ! You, my dear Juana, will conceive it and will sincerely

* Foreign Office, 72/189.

* Her daughters.

regret him also. He was one of your most attached and warmest friends!"¹

Lady Hunter goes on to describe her husband's grave, which, she says, is in the English burial-ground, "in the sweetest situation possible, within a flower garden, and I left directions for a tombstone to be erected. I even gave myself in writing what I wish engraved upon it, so you see at least, my dear Juana, that, unhappy as I am, I have had all my *senses* about me. . . ." Referring to the reduced circumstances in which she was left, Lady Hunter writes of her husband: "How often he regretted his want of fortune, solely on *my* account, but thank God all his debts were paid, and no one except myself and children are the poorer for his death; and to us the good and honorable character he has left, is greater satisfaction than if he had left us riches with the reverse. . . ."

Lady Hunter returned to England with her two daughters, and in June, 1820, the eldest of them, Jane, married Mr. David Charles Guthrie.² The following year Lady Hunter writes to Juana Serba with regard to this marriage as follows:

"Many thanks, my dear Friend, for your congratulation on minima's marriage; none could I receive that I believe more sincere, or coming more immediately from the heart, and I rejoice to be able to tell you that a happier woman than *Mrs. Charles Guthrie* is, I do not believe exists. She every day discovers more cause for loving and *esteeming* her husband. . . ."

Four years later Lady Hunter's second daughter, Margaret, married Captain Basil Hall. Lady Hunter lived latterly in Harley Street, and died there on the 28th April, 1841. Some

¹ In his will, proved the following September by Dame Elizabeth Barbara Hunter, Sir John left a legacy of £20 a year to Juana Margarida Serba, "who lived with Lady Hunter as maid for upwards of eight years . . . in testimony of my grateful sense of her zealous, affectionate and faithful services." He requested any of his children who might be able to afford it to make an addition to this annuity.

² Her son, James Alexander Guthrie of Craigie, married Elinor, daughter of Admiral Sir James Stirling, Governor of Western Australia (who married secondly Foster Fitzgerald Arbuthnot, see pp. 320-1), and was father of the late Mr. David Charles Guthrie of Craigie, and also of the Hon. Mrs. Henry Denison, by whom Lady Hunter's letters were kindly lent to the writer for the purposes of this book.

letters written by her brother, George Arbuthnot of Elderslie, to his daughter Jane^{*} contain references to Lady Hunter's last illness. He had hastened to London on hearing that she was not well. Writing from Harley Street on 26th April, he says: "She sent for me to her room and seemed pleased to see me, saying two or three times, 'My dear Brother,' and 'My dear George,' and then held out her hand to me. . . . Once she said, 'I am quite happy, I wish nothing to be altered.' . . ." Referring, the following day, to his daughter's wish to come to London and nurse her aunt, he says that he had mentioned this to Lady Hunter, but "she said that ill as she now is, nobody could be of any service to her in the way of Society, and that for the mere comfort of the feeling of having a relation near her, she said 'of all human Beings, I prefer yourself, for you understand my ways so well.' . . . Finding this to be her feeling, I did not think it right to press the matter, more particularly as it is no inconvenience to me to stay here and attend this dear old Lady. . . ."

Lady Hunter died the following day (28th April), and was buried at Ockley, in the family vault built by her brother. There is a tablet to her memory on the south wall of the church. She had in all three children: Robert John, who died in Madras in 1824; Jane Campbell (Mrs. Guthrie); and Margaret Congalton (Mrs. Basil Hall). On Lady Hunter's death her brother George was left the last survivor of the family of Robert Arbuthnot of Haddo-Rattray and Mary Urquhart. A very deep affection had existed between this brother and sister, as is evident from many expressions in his letters and diaries, some of which have been quoted elsewhere. He died two years later, and was also buried in the vault at Ockley. A portrait of Lady Hunter will be found facing p. 398, having been reproduced from the original in the possession of her great-grand-daughter, the Hon. Mrs. Henry Denison.

Sir William Arbuthnot, first Baronet, eldest surviving son of Robert Arbuthnot, second of Haddo-Rattray, and Mary Urquhart, was born 24th December, 1766, and succeeded his father as Secretary to the Board of Trustees. In 1814 he obtained a grant of arms from the Lyon Court, when he was

^{*} These letters are in my husband's possession.

authorized to use the familiar Crescent and Mulletts argent on an azure field, for Arbuthnot, "all within a Bordure Or, charged with three Boars' Heads erased Gules for difference and to show his maternal descent from the family of Urquhart of Cromarty," etc.¹

In 1816 he was Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and in that capacity received the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia, who paid a visit to the city that year. Of this event Sir Walter Scott wrote as follows to the Duke of Buccleuch, from Edinburgh, 14th December, 1816 ("Dicky Gossip" was the nickname by which Mr. William Arbuthnot was known to his intimates).

"He (the Grand Duke) is to be entertained by the Advocate on Wednesday, and the Provost on Thursday. It is lucky we have such a respectable father of the City at present. He may sing with Cicero—

'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam.'

Indeed, he deserves to be elevated from Dickie Gossip, as we used to term him of yore, into Sir Richard Gossip. Certainly I have seen provosts who would have made strange work upon such occasions."²

In 1822 Mr. William Arbuthnot was again Lord Provost when George IV paid a visit to Edinburgh, and on the 24th August that year the King was entertained at dinner by Mr. Arbuthnot and the Corporation at the Parliament House. On this historic occasion the King sat at the centre of a "half-moon" table, with Mr. William Arbuthnot, the Lord Provost, at his right hand. On his left sat the Earl of Erroll, High Constable, and a large and brilliant company had assembled to do honour to His Majesty.

After dinner the Lord Provost rose and proposed the King's health in a short speech, to which His Majesty responded

¹ It cannot be too often stated that no member of the Arbuthnot family not descended from the first Baronet has the right to use the Bordure with the Boars' Heads as granted to him "and the heirs-male of his Body as their proper Arms and Bearings in all time coming." As far as has been noticed, this rule is more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

² *Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. i. p. 383. David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1894.

with grace and good humour ; the healths of other members of the Royal Family were then drunk, being greeted with extraordinary enthusiasm, and this was followed by selections of appropriate music.

We read in the *Morning Chronicle* that "when the last note of the music had ceased, His Majesty again rose, and the Lord Provost having knelt and kissed hands, the King lifted him up and, turning to the company, proposed 'The Health of Sir William Arbuthnot, Baronet, and the Corporation of Edinburgh.'"

The distinction thus unexpectedly conferred upon Mr. Arbuthnot is said to have visibly embarrassed him. According to the *Morning Chronicle*, "the newly-made Baronet blushed, the King smiled, the company applauded and sang 'Within a mile of sweet Edinboro' Town.'"

The last toast proposed by the King was "The Chieftains and Clans ; and may God Almighty bless the Land of Cakes !"

In 1829, when the contest over Catholic Emancipation was at its height, Sir William, with Scott and others, gave their active support to the proposed measure. In Sir Walter Scott's *Journal* of 9th March, 1829, we read as follows : "After breakfast, I went to Sir William Arbuthnot's, and met there a select party of Tories, to decide whether we should act with the Whigs, by adopting their petition in favour of the Catholics. I was not free from apprehension that the petition might be put in such language as I, at least, should be unwilling to authenticate by my subscription. The Solicitor was voucher that they would keep the terms quite general, whereupon we subscribed the requisition for a meeting, with a slight alteration, affirming that it was our desire not to have intermeddled, had not the anti-Catholics pursued that course ; and so the Whigs and we are embarked in the same boat—*vogue la galère*."¹

The following account of Sir William Arbuthnot is given in the *Memoirs of a Highland Lady*,² where the author, after describing Edinburgh society, writes as follows :

¹ *Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. ii. p. 247. David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1891.

² *Memoirs of a Highland Lady. The Autobiography of Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus, afterwards Mrs. Smith of Baltiboyes, 1797-1830*, edited by Lady Strachey, pp. 308-9. John Murray, London, 1911.



Sir William Arbuthnot, first Baronet,
Lord Provost of Edinburgh.
From a miniature in the possession of Miss Inglis.



Lady Arbuthnot (née Alves), wife of Sir William Arbuthnot,
first Baronet.
From a portrait in the possession of Miss Inglis.

“The Lord Provost of Edinburgh was seldom in any of these sets; he was generally a tradesman of repute among his equals, and in their society he was content to abide. This year the choice happened to fall on a little man of good family, highly connected in the mercantile world, married to an Inverness Alves, and much liked. I don’t remember what his pursuit was, whether he was a banker, or agent for the great Madras house his brother George was the head of, but he was a kind, hospitable man, his wife Mrs. Arbuthnot very Highland, and they were general favourites. . . . The name amongst us for Sir William Arbuthnot was *Dicky Gossip*, and richly he deserved it, for he knew all that was doing everywhere to everybody, all that was pleasant to know; a bit of ill-nature or a bit of ill-news he never uttered. After a visit from him and his excellent wife—they were fond of going about together—a deal of what was going on seemed to have suddenly enlightened their listeners, and most agreeably. A tale of scandal never spread from them, nor yet a sarcasm. They, from their situation, saw a great deal of company, and no parties could be pleasanter than those they gave.”

Sir William died very suddenly in his office at the Board of Trustees 18th September, 1829, and was buried at St. John’s Episcopal Church, Edinburgh. He had married (13th September, 1800) Anne, fourth daughter of Dr. John Alves of Shipland, Inverness-shire, and by her (who died 19th July, 1846) had issue—

- I. Robert Keith (Sir), second Baronet., born in Edinburgh 9th September, 1801, to whom we shall return.
- II. John Alves of Coworth Park, Berks, born 3rd October, 1802, of whom presently.
- III. George Clerk of Mavisbank, Midlothian, born 7th October, 1803, of whom presently.
- IV. Archibald Francis, born 8th January, 1805, of whom presently.
- V. William Urquhart of Bridgen Place, Kent, born 24th March, 1807, of whom presently.
- VI. James Edward of Bon Air, Mauritius, born 12th January, 1809, of whom presently.

VII. Henry Dundas, born 24th September, 1811, died in 1847, unmarried. Buried in the Old Cemetery at Wiesbaden, where there is an inscription to his memory.

I. Helen Baillie,¹ born 20th December, 1805, died at Olivebank, 30th March, 1807.

II. Mary, born 25th April, 1814, died at Leamington, 5th February, 1838; buried in the family vault at St. John's, Prince's Street, Edinburgh.

III. Elizabeth Helen, born 24th September, 1819, died 30th April, 1825, aged 5; buried at St. John's.

IV. Anne, born in Charlotte Square 18th January, 1822, married (1849) Lieut.-Colonel Hugh Inglis of Kingsmills, Inverness, and died 6th January, 1900, aged 77, leaving issue; buried at St. John's.

John Alves Arbuthnot of Coworth Park, Old Windsor, Berks, second son of Sir William Arbuthnot, first Baronet, and Anne Alves, was born in Queen Street, Edinburgh, 3rd October, 1802. He was High Sheriff for Berkshire in 1873. He married (2nd June, 1832) his first cousin, Mary, eldest daughter of George Arbuthnot of Elderslie, Surrey (p. 381). He died 29th August, 1875, and was buried at Sunningdale, having by her (who died 30th March, 1859) had issue—

I. William, of Ham Manor, Newbury, Berks., formerly of Coworth Park, Windsor, born 14th April, 1833; D.L. for County Berkshire; married first (5th January, 1858), Adolphine Eliza Macleod, second daughter of Edward Lecot, French Consul at Madras, which lady died 2nd December following *s.p.*; and secondly (12th July, 1865) Margaret Rosa, eldest daughter of John Campbell of Kilberry, Co. Argyll, and died 9th February, 1896, having by her (who died at Ham Manor, Newbury, 11th May, 1918) had issue—

(1) Adolphine Mary born at Madras 12th January, 1868, married (22nd December, 1897) Charles Edward Brownrigg, and died 18th December, 1904, leaving issue.

¹ Lady Arbuthnot's mother was Helen Baillie of Duncan; this child was therefore named after her.

(2) Alice Marion, born at Leghorn 8th November, 1869, married (18th April, 1900) Edward Herbert Fox of Ecchinswell, Hants, and has issue.

(3) Ivy Florence, born at Park Lodge, Sunningdale, 30th January, 1871.

II. George (Colonel), late R.H.A., of Norton Court, Gloucestershire, D.L. for County Hereford, M.P. for Hereford from 1871 to 1874, and again from 1878 to 1880; born 9th June, 1836; married (12th October, 1870) Caroline Emma Nepean, youngest daughter of Captain Andrew Nepean Aitchison, H.E.I.C.S., and died 26th December, 1912, having by her had issue—

(1) John Bernard (Major), Scots Guards, M.V.O., is Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; born 17th May, 1875; entered the Army in 1896; served in South Africa 1900; was A.D.C. and Private Secretary to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Hong Kong 1902-3; Extra A.D.C. to the Governor of Ceylon 1907; retired as Major 1913; rejoined Scots Guards 1914; transferred to Irish Guards and to General Staff; appointed Brigade-Major, Brigade of Guards, 1914. He married (8th June, 1903) Olive, only daughter of Sir Henry Blake, G.C.M.G., of Myrtle Grove, Youghal, Co. Cork, and has issue: (1) David George, born 7th April, 1905; (2) Terence John, born 8th October, 1906; (3) Bernard Kieran Charles, born 8th November, 1909; (4) Myles Henry, born 17th August, 1911; (1) Irene Jean Grace, born 25th April, 1904; (2) Patricia Evangeline Anne, born 17th March, 1914.

(2) Hugh Archibald, born 4th December, 1885.

(3) Ronald George Urquhart, 16th Lancers, attached to R.A.F., born 8th October, 1891; killed flying, 3rd December, 1918.

- (1) Frances Muriel, born 22nd November, 1871, married (6th July, 1910) Captain S. J. C. Brichta, Lancashire Fusiliers, son of Philip Brichta.
- (2) Dorothy Gertrude, born 20th January, 1878, married (3rd February, 1904) Brig.-General Hugh Frederick Bateman - Champain, Indian Army, second son of Colonel Sir John Bateman-Champain, K.C.M.G., R.F.
- (3) Mary Christabel, born 12th September, 1879, married first (23rd October, 1907) George Archibald Wallace Young of Stratton Audley Hall, Bicester, Oxford, and secondly Captain Alexander Gifford Ludford Astley,¹ 14th Hussars, and has issue by both marriages.

III. Charles George, a Director of the Bank of England, one of H.M. Lieutenants for the City of London, born 20th October, 1846.

IV. Hugh Lyttelton, born 27th September, 1851, married (25th September, 1879) Elizabeth Fountaine, only daughter of Fountaine Walker of Ness Castle, Inverness-shire, and has had issue—

(1) Henry Charles, born 1st May, died 31st August, 1894.

(1) Alice Maud, born 14th July, 1880, married (15th January, 1918) her cousin, Brigadier-General Sir Dalrymple Arbuthnot, fifth Baronet (p. 328).

I. Anne, died unmarried 16th August, 1909.

II. Mary.

III. Florence.

IV. Jane (twin with Florence), died 1891.

V. Alice Magdalen, born 17th September, 1843, died 1st May, 1869.

VI. Laura Gertrude, born 1845, died 1852.

George Clerk Arbuthnot of Marisbank, Midlothian, third son of Sir William Arbuthnot, first Baronet, and Anne Alves, was born at Olivebank, 7th October, 1803, and married first (7th November, 1837) Agnes, daughter of John Rait of

¹ Killed in action, 5th March, 1919.

Anniston, Forfarshire; and secondly (10th January, 1845) Caroline Ramsay, daughter of James Hay of Collepriest (by his wife, Lady Mary Ramsay, fourth daughter of George, sixth Earl of Dalhousie). He died 21st February, 1876, and was buried at St. John's, Edinburgh. By his first wife (who died 12th March, 1842, and was buried at Ockley, Surrey) he had issue—

- I. Emily, born 14th June, 1840, married (27th November, 1860) John, first Lord Inverclyde, and died 14th February, 1901, leaving issue.

By his second wife, who died 9th August, 1911, and was buried at St. John's, Edinburgh, Mr. Arbuthnot had issue—

- I. George (Ven.), M.A., Oxon, D.D., Archdeacon of Coventry since 1908, born 24th May, 1846; was ordained to the curacy of Arundel in 1872; became Vicar in 1873; Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon 1879; is author of *The Passion of Christ*, *Shakespeare's Sermons*, and other publications; married (19th November, 1885) Margaret Evelyn, eldest daughter of the Very Rev. Herbert Mortimer Luckock, D.D., Dean of Lichfield.
- II. Charles Ramsay (Admiral), late Naval A.D.C. to King Edward VII, born 5th February, 1850, married (8th January, 1880) Emily Caroline, second daughter of Rear-Admiral C. F. Schomberg, and died 30th September, 1913, having by her (who died 5th December, 1910) had issue—
 - (1) Geoffrey Schomberg, Lieut.-Commander, R.N., born 18th January, 1885, served in the European War (Despatches, D.S.O. and Legion of Honour), married (22nd October, 1913) Jessie Marguerite, second daughter of William Henderson of Berkeley House, Frome, and has issue a son, Peter Charles Reginald, born 16th September, 1915, and a daughter, Mary Marguerite, born 17th August, 1914.
 - (1) Evelyn Mary, born 12th February, 1881.

- (2) Beatrice Caroline, born 5th February, 1883, married (21st April, 1906) Captain Robert Henry Ramsay Mackay, R.N., only surviving son of Henry Ramsay Mackay of Petham House, Canterbury, and has issue.

III. James of Ballure, Co. Argyll, born 21st July, 1855, married first (22nd April, 1879) Mary Steward, daughter of Captain R. N. Taylor, and died 16th April, 1913, having had issue—

(1) George Ramsay, born 28th June, 1880.

(2) Charles Gwynne, born 21st May, 1881, died 7th July following.

(3) Francis Clementi, born 9th February, 1883, died unmarried 1905.

Mr. James Arbuthnot, married secondly (22nd October, 1897) Mary Margaret, only daughter of the late Lowry Mann of Earlstoun, Cheshire (she died *s.p.* 26th August, 1905).

II. Mary Hay, born 1847, died 1870.

Archibald Francis Arbuthnot, fourth son of Sir William Arbuthnot, first Baronet, and Anne Alves, was born 8th January, 1805, married (12th December, 1837) the Hon. Gertrude Sophia Gough, daughter of Field-Marshal Viscount Gough, K.P., G.C.B., and died 31st March, 1879. He was buried in Brompton Cemetery. By his wife (who died 21st November, 1882) he left issue—

- I. William (Major-General), C.B., late 14th Hussars, born 27th September, 1838, married first (26th April, 1865), the Hon. Alice Charlotte Pitt-Rivers, fourth daughter of George, fourth Lord Rivers. (This lady was killed by lightning when in Switzerland on her wedding tour, 21st June, 1865.) He married secondly (20th July, 1869) Selina, daughter of Sir Thomas Moncreiffe, seventh Baronet, and thirdly (2nd December, 1879), Edith Anne, daughter of Major-General J. L. Pearse, of the Madras Army (who married secondly the Comte de Miremont), and died 12th September, 1893, having by his second wife (who died 26th November, 1877) had issue—

- (1) Gerald Archibald, M.P., of 43 Princes Gardens, 2nd Lieutenant Grenadier Guards, R.N.V.R., in Royal Navy, 1886-92, M.P. for Burnley, January-December, 1910; Vice-Chancellor of the Primrose League; Private Secretary to the President of the Board of Agriculture 1895 to 1899; Assistant Private Secretary to the President of the Local Government Board, 1901 to 1902; Assistant Private Secretary to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1905 to 1906; born 19th December, 1872, married (6th February, 1894) Mary Johanna Antoinette Dulcie, younger daughter of Charles Oppenheim, of 40, Great Cumberland Place, London, and was killed in action 25th September, 1916, leaving issue: (1) Frances Gertrude, born 21st March, 1896, married (23rd March, 1918) Captain Kenneth Lindsay Stewart; (2) Cynthia Isabelle Theresa, born 15th January, 1898; (3) Dorothea Helen Mary, born 27th July, 1901.

II. Hugh Gough, formerly one of H.M.'s Lieutenants for the City of London, born 29th January, 1840, married (9th June, 1864) Caroline, youngest daughter of the Rev. Capel Molyneux, B.A., eldest son of John Molyneux of Gravel Hill, Bridgnorth, and grandson of the Right Hon. Sir Capel Molyneux, third Baronet, and died 1st June, 1905, having by her had issue—

- (1) Lionel Gough, born 24th September, 1867, married (18th April, 1894) Violet Rebecca, youngest daughter of Sir John Henry Morris, K.C.S.I., of Queen's Gate, London.
 (2) Capel Robert, born 27th November, 1868, died in January, 1870.
 (1) Constance Gertrude, born 17th July, 1866, married (25th January, 1900) Ernest Luxmoore Marshall, son of F. Marshall, Registrar of the Court of Stannaries of Cornwall and Devon.

III. Archibald Ernest (Major) of Westfield Meadow, Hayling Island, 8th Madras Light Cavalry, born 5th January, 1841, married (14th November, 1872) Anne Elizabeth, widow of Surgeon-Major Alexander Russell Atkinson, M.D., Bengal Army, and daughter of William Walker Ball of Capetown, and has issue—

(1) Archibald Hugh, (Captain), 59th Scinde Rifles, born 7th December, 1875, married (25th February, 1900) Gertrude Alice, eldest daughter of the Rev. Frederick Charles Green, Vicar of Denmead, Hants (she died at Peshawar, 11th November, 1918), and has had issue: (1) Archibald Hugh Gough, born 12th November, 1900; (2) Patrick Charles, born 26th November, 1902; (3) Ernest Douglas, born 15th September, 1905.

(2) Ernest Kennaway, Commander, R.N., D.S.O., served in the European War (Despatches, Promotion), born 3rd September, 1876, married (1st June, 1910) Evie, daughter of Richard Bentley Greene, of Laburnam Grove, Portsmouth (she died in September 1917).

(3) William Patrick (Major), R.M.L.I., born 28th April, 1878, married (30th June, 1904) Olive, only daughter of William Gregory Walker, Justice of the Supreme Court, New South Wales, and has issue: (1) Olive Joan, born 2nd April, 1905; (2) Patricia Gwynne, born 27th March, 1906.

(1) Edith Gertrude, married (30th July, 1903) Basil Stephenson, of Shanghai, China, and of Lowood, Woldingham, Surrey, and has issue.

IV. Robert George, M.A., barrister, born 20th May, 1843, married (22nd December, 1885) Helen Mary, daughter of Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L., Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and died 19th March, 1890, leaving issue—

- (1) Robert Wemyss Muir (Captain), R.F.A. Special Reserve, born 1889; served in the European War; called up 5th August, 1914; sailed for France 17th; wounded at Loos 26th September (French Croix de Guerre, M.S. and 1914 Star); ended the war as Captain on the 3rd Army H.Q. Staff; married (3rd July, 1915) Mary, eldest daughter of Norman Coghill of Alington Hall, Market Drayton, and has issue: (1) Mary Juliet Gough, born 2nd April, 1917; (2) Elizabeth Christian, born 4th December, 1918.
- (1) Jean Marjorie, born 27th November, 1886, married (3rd June, 1913) Major Arthur Frederick Dudgeon, O.B.E., of Gogar Bank, Midlothian, and has issue.
- (2) Elizabeth Gertrude Gough, twin with Robert; served as a nurse during the European War, and was in Southern Russia in 1917 with the Scottish Woman's Hospitals attached to the Serbian Division; returned with Dr. Elsie Inglis' unit in November that year, the Germans and Austrians having then temporarily over-run Serbia. Miss Arbuthnot, who received the Serbian Medal in common with the other members of the unit, was one of those who nursed Dr. Elsie Inglis during her last illness, and some impressions of the great heroine of the Serbian campaign, written by Miss Arbuthnot, have been printed by Lady Frances Balfour in her *Life of Dr. Elsie Inglis*. In 1918, the fortunes of the war having dramatically changed, the Serbian Army once more took the field in the Balkans, and in a series of brilliant advances recaptured its desolated territory. Miss Arbuthnot went out again with the

unit, which still bore Dr. Inglis's name and remained in Serbia till the early part of 1919, when she finally returned to England from Serajevo.

V. George Gough (Sir), born 28th August, 1848, for some years partner in the firm of Arbuthnot and Co. of Madras, six times Member of the Legislative Council, seven times Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Madras, Fellow of the Madras University, Chairman of the Famine Relief Fund in 1900; married (9th September, 1873) Isabella Albinia, daughter of the Hon. and Rev. Richard Cavendish Boyle, son of Edmund, eighth Earl of Cork, and has had issue—

(1) Ellinor Mary, born 12th September, 1874, died 9th August, 1875.

(2) Cecilia Albinia, born 30th September, 1881, married (10th October, 1903) Captain the Hon. Robert Lygon, Grenadier Guards, third son of the sixth Earl of Beauchamp, and has issue.

I. Frances, married (27th November, 1866) the Right Hon. Sir John Kennaway, third Baronet, P.C., C.B., M.P., and has issue.

II. Anne Gertrude Grace, died 9th February, 1912, unmarried.

William Urquhart Arbuthnot of Bridgen Place, Kent, fifth son of Sir William Arbuthnot, first Baronet, and Anne Alves, was born 24th March, 1807; he was formerly of Madras, and member of the Indian Council in England; he married (2nd June, 1834) Eliza Jane, only daughter of General Sir Henry George Andrew Taylor, G.C.B., Madras Army, and died 11th December, 1874, having by her (who died 18th August, 1892) had issue—

I. William Henry, born 1st July, 1835, married (10th March, 1875) Mary, daughter of Wright Turner, of Hollybank, Manchester, and died *s.p.* 4th July, 1888 (she died 13th July, 1887).

- II. Frederick George, born 15th August, 1845, died 1st September, 1910.
- III. Reginald James Hugh, born 2nd June, 1853, died 19th September, 1917.
 - I. Eliza Taylor, married (27th November, 1861) William Spottiswoode, LL.D., D.C.L. etc., of Coombe Bank, Kent, President of the Royal Society (he died 27th June, 1883, and was buried in Westminster Abbey), and died 21st August, 1894, leaving issue.
 - II. Mary Charlotte, married (5th August, 1868) Arthur Brandreth, late Judge of the Chief Court of the Punaub, and died *s.p.* 2nd June, 1897.
 - III. Helen.

James Edward of Bon Air, Mauritius, sixth son of Sir William Arbuthnot, first Baronet, and Anne Alves, was born in Edinburgh, 12th January, 1809, married (June 1837) Harriet Frances, daughter of General William Staveley, C.B., and died 29th September, 1868, having had issue—

- I. William Staveley, born 14th June, 1841, died 1898.
- II. Robert Charles Edward, born 22nd January, 1843, died 1889.
- III. George Ireland, born 21st December, 1847, married (6th May, 1876) Nettie May Cumming, daughter of the late Donald Munro of Belleville, Inverness-shire, and died 24th March, 1900, leaving issue—
 - (1) Alister Dare Staveley, Lieutenant R.E., born 11th July, 1881, served in Mesopotamia during the European War, wounded 1914, reported missing 1916, and not since heard of.
 - (1) Frances Ella Gertrude.
 - (2) Winifred Madeline Louisa Ogilvy, married (17th April, 1912) Captain Norman Doncaster Noble, R.E., younger son of Colonel Charles Simson Noble, of the Indian Army.
- IV. Edward Surtees, born 29th October, 1857, died 1886.
 - I. Mary Rose, married first (1856) Clinton Berens Dawkins, and secondly (23rd December, 1861) Charles Edmund Banks.

- II. Anne, married (21st May, 1862) Edward, fourth son of General Sir James Dawes Douglas, G.C.B., K.C.B., and has had issue.
- III. Harriet Gertrude.
- IV. Louisa Fitzgerald L'Estrange.
- V. Emily Frederica, born 27th January, 1855, married (13th February, 1879) Walter Fox Williamson, eldest son of William W. Wells, of the Bengal Army, and has issue.
- VI. Charlotte Elizabeth, married (12th August, 1896) Commander Frederick George Loring, R.N., elder son of Admiral Sir William Loring, K.C.B., and has issue.
- VII. Frances Henrietta.

Sir Robert Keith Arbuthnot, second Baronet, eldest son of Sir William Arbuthnot, first Baronet, and Anne Alves, was born in Queen Street, Edinburgh, 9th September, 1801. He entered the Bombay Civil Service, remaining in its employment from 1819, when he obtained a writership, till 1838, in which year his post was that of Collector and Magistrate of Ahmedabad.¹ Sir Robert died at Florence, 4th March, 1873, and was buried in the Protestant Cemetery there. He had married (20th March, 1828) Anne, younger daughter of Field-Marshal Sir John Forster Fitzgerald, G.C.B., and by her (who died 6th March, 1882, and was buried at Florence) had issue—

- I. William Wedderburn (Major Sir), third Baronet, born 22nd August, 1831, of whom presently.
- II. Forster Fitzgerald, late Bombay Civil Service, born 21st May, 1833. Mr. Arbuthnot was a distinguished orientalist, well versed in the ancient literatures of Persia and India. It is due to his laborious work that several of the masterpieces of Arabic, Persian and Indian writers are now accessible to English readers. Among his publications are *Arabic Authors, a Manual of Arabian History and Literature; Persian Portraits, A Sketch of Persian History, Literature and Politics; Early Ideas, A Group of Hindoo Stories, collected by an Aryan*, besides which he edited in 1898 *The*

¹ *Dodwell and Miles' List of Bombay Civil Servants.*

Assemblies of Al Hariri, by Kasim Ibn Ali, called *Al-Hariri* (published by the Oriental Translation Fund), and *The Rauzat-us-sufa*, by Muhammed ibn Khavendshah bin Mahmud, commonly called *Mirkhoud*. In politics Mr. Forster Fitzgerald Arbuthnot was a Liberal, and was President of the Womersley District Liberal Association. In an address on "Free Trade in Land," delivered by him to that Association in 1885, and afterwards published, he advocated doing away with the laws of entail and settlement of estates, for the purpose of facilitating the sale of land. He married (17th July, 1879) Eleanor, widow of James Alexander Guthrie of Craigie, Forfarshire, and daughter of the late Admiral Sir James Stirling, Governor of Western Australia. He died *s.p.* 25th May, 1901.

III. Robert Keith (Rev.), M.A., Vicar of St. James,' Ratcliffe, London, born 10th August, 1838, married (17th June, 1868) Mary Agnes, eldest daughter of the Rev. Canon Edward T. Vaughan, M.A., Canon of St. Albans. He died 5th December, 1894, leaving issue by her (who died 14th March, 1908)—

(1) Robert Edward Vaughan, I.C.S., born 15th January, 1871, married (19th April, 1899) Ethel Mary, daughter of the late Major Charles Wyndham, late 9th Bengal Light Cavalry, and has issue: Elnyth Mary, born 1st February, 1900.

(2) Henry Fitzgerald, of the Indian Forest Service, Madras, born 16th July, 1873, married (31st December, 1900) Ivy, daughter of the late John W. Minchin of Clovelly, Ootacamund, and died 26th May, 1917, having had issue: (1) Hugh Fitzgerald, born 13th October, 1903; (1) Julia Mary Agnes, born 16th December, 1901, died 16th May, 1909; (2) Madeline Ivy, born 26th April, 1908; (3) Katherine Rose, born 18th September, 1913.

- (3) Hugh Keith, R.N., born 20th July, 1874, died unmarried 16th February, 1903.
 - (1) Geraldine Mary, born 1st May, 1869, married (3rd September, 1896) Henry Edward Hamill-Stewart, and has issue.
 - (2) Constance Margaret, born 3rd March, 1879, married (1913) Captain Robert Keyworth, 52nd Oxfordshire Light Infantry, and has issue.
- IV. John Alves Henry, Bombay Cavalry, born 25th July, 1842, died unmarried at Brieg, Switzerland, 29th June, 1878. Buried at Florence.
- V. Fitzgerald Hay, born 25th August, 1849, died 1st November, 1894.
- I. Charlotte d'Ende, married (21st April, 1863) the Rev. Charles Hall Raikes, Vicar of Chittoe, Chippenham, and had issue (she died 18th May, 1904).
 - II. Henrietta Anne, died unmarried 26th June, 1897.

Major Sir William Wedderburn Arbuthnot, third Baronet, eldest son of Sir Robert Keith Arbuthnot, second Baronet and Anne Fitzgerald, was born 22nd August, 1831. He entered the Army and was Major in the 18th Hussars. He married (11th June, 1863) Alice Margaret, fourth daughter of the Rev. Matthew Carrier Thompson, Rural Dean and Vicar of Alderminster, Worcester. Sir William died 5th June, 1889, and was buried in Brompton Cemetery, having by his wife (who died 5th May, 1889) had issue—

- I. Robert Keith (Rear-Admiral Sir), fourth Baronet, born 23rd March, 1864, to whom we shall return.
- II. Dalrymple (Brigadier-General Sir), fifth and present Baronet, of whom presently.
- III. Reginald Ramsay (Captain), Royal Irish Regiment, born 25th April, 1869, died of wounds received in action in South Africa, 3rd September, 1900, unmarried.
- IV. William Fitzgerald, 3rd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders, born 29th October, 1875; an Esquire of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England; was received into the Roman Catholic Church in 1893; served in Egypt during the South

African War, and in Cyprus during the European War ; received the South African (Mediterranean) Medal, 1914 Ribbon, Allied Ribbon and Victory Medal.

- I. Aline Henriette, born 16th March, 1866, died 13th February, 1913.

Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Keith Arbuthnot, fourth Baronet, K.C.B., M.V.O., eldest son of Sir William Wedderburn Arbuthnot, was born 23rd March, 1864. He entered the Navy in 1877, became Commander in 1897, and Captain in 1902 ; was A.D.C. to the King from 1911 to 1912, in which latter year he was promoted Rear-Admiral. The following few details of Sir Robert's career have been collected, as being of interest to all members of the family :

In 1901 Sir Robert met with a serious accident, through the explosion of a 12-inch gun on board the *Royal Sovereign* off Platea, on the 9th of November, 1901. The men were preparing to fire a salute in honour of the King's birthday, when something went wrong and a terrible explosion occurred, six men being killed on the spot and eight others seriously wounded. Sir Robert was very seriously hurt, his legs being terribly burnt, but as soon as he was able to speak he ordered that all the others should be attended to before himself. His own condition was for a time regarded as hopeless, but he gradually recovered, after being laid aside for many months. He was devoted to all athletic sports, and had been well known as a Rugby three-quarter-back, had captained the United Service team, and played for Hampshire.

Sir Robert was an enthusiastic member of the Motor Cycling Club, and a familiar sight in his stateroom was his "Triumph" motor-cycle, besides one or two other machines. He rode in the London-to-Edinburgh Motor-Cycle Competition a short time before war broke out, all going well with him till he reached the Cheviots, where he fell from his saddle through sheer exhaustion. He instantly remounted and rode on, only to fall again, proceeding by short advances, checked by heavy falls. Sir Robert was out of health at the time, but no consideration for himself would have induced him to give in. At last he was overtaken by another competitor, who, realizing

the state of affairs, insisted on carrying him on to Edinburgh. Sir Robert at first flatly refused, but finding that his friend was determined not to leave him and would in consequence lose his own place in the competition, he gave in and consented to be taken on by him.

In January, 1910, at the annual dinner of the Auto-Cycle Union, Sir Robert made what was at the time considered a very incautious speech, in which he spoke boldly of the German menace, and insisted that urgent measures of preparation were essential. A General Election was at the time in progress, and, after saying that ever since the German Emperor came to the throne he had been preparing measures for an invasion of this country, Sir Robert urged that "to prevent that, the first thing was to keep the Liberals out of power." After declaring that it was the dearest wish of "our Teutonic friends" that the Radicals should return to office, he declared that it followed that such a return must be the very worst thing that could happen to England, and that "the safety of the country lay with the Unionist party." Sir Robert was not aware that reporters were present and therefore spoke with considerable unreserve, but the following morning, contrary to his expectation, a full report of the speech appeared in the papers. It is understood that the German Government made a formal protest, and, as a sequel to this, Sir Robert was deprived of his ship and placed on half-pay. Official displeasure, however, did not interfere with his career for long, and shortly afterwards he was promoted to Commodore and given the command of the Destroyer Flotilla at Harwich, an appointment entirely after his own heart.

In 1914 Sir Robert, then in his fiftieth year, ran a 100 yards race with Captain Eric Back at Portsmouth, in fulfilment of a challenge made twenty years before, when the two friends were lieutenants on board the *Warspite*. Both men went into training for the race, in which the whole service took an extraordinary interest, and when the day arrived an immense crowd assembled to witness the contest. Captain Back just won, Sir Robert breaking down in the last few yards.

In 1914 the Great War broke out, and on 31st May, 1916, Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Arbuthnot was in command of the First Cruiser Squadron, with his flag on board the *Defence*.



Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Keith Arbuthnot, K.C.B., M.V.O., fourth Baronet, killed at the Battle of Jutland, 31st May, 1916.

As is well known, Sir David Beatty with his Battle-Cruiser Squadron was scouting in the North Sea that afternoon, when the news was flashed to him that a German Squadron had been sighted off the Danish coast. Coming up with them about 3.30 p.m., Admiral Beatty formed line of battle, and at 3.48 p.m. both forces opened fire simultaneously. The *Indefatigable* and *Queen Mary* were lost early in the action, Beatty and his squadron following the enemy steadily southwards until at 4.45 p.m. the entire fleet of German Dreadnoughts came in sight. Beatty's object of drawing out the German High Seas Fleet being now attained, he steered northwards, towards the point where the Grand Fleet under Sir John Jellicoe was expected to appear. At 5.45 p.m., the first reinforcements were sighted. Beatty now made a daring move, steering suddenly due East across the leading German cruisers, and forcing them to turn also, or be enfiladed. Admiral Hood brought his ships into action at this point, and immediately afterwards the *Invincible* was lost. Some writers have supposed that it was only at this juncture that the Germans realized that they were face to face with the Grand Fleet. Whether it was a surprise or not, they at once took steps to hamper the British advance, sending forward destroyers and light cruisers to discharge torpedoes. And it was now that Sir Robert Arbuthnot, moving forward in the van of Jellicoe's fleet, flung his ships into the action, and it was here that his gallant career ended, in the way he would have wished it to end. With the *Defence*, *Warrior*, and *Black Prince* he made a heroic dash forward to engage the advancing light craft and facilitate the deployment of the Grand Fleet, but this movement, of which Sir Robert must have fully counted the cost, brought him within the range of the German Dreadnoughts. The mist rising at that moment, revealed the fact that Sir Robert's three ships were at the mercy of their powerful foe. In one of the best accounts of the battle yet published,¹ we find the following comments on this tragic incident in the great struggle :

“ It is possible that, as Admiral Jellicoe suggests in his despatch, the three ships were lamed before they could with-

¹ See *The Great War*, Part 116, p. 439.

draw. But it is also possible that Sir Robert Arbuthnot did not intend to retire. In his flagship he engaged the nearest German battle-cruiser for eight minutes. The *Defence* was repeatedly struck aft, and a terrific explosion occurred in the stern, but she still held on towards the enemy, firing with her remaining guns. Then she was hit forward, and in the smoke, steam and flame of a great explosion, one of the very finest of British fighting admirals vanished, with the *Defence's* captain, officers and men. . . ."

Before the end came the fore part of the ship was seen to be red hot, but she still continued to deliver her fire. "We saw the gallant old *Defence* go under," wrote an eye-witness to *The Times* of the 13th June, "and I shall never forget the heroism of her crew. A German salvo crippled her aft, and being so heavily hit she ought to have hauled out of the firing line, but with splendid courage she went on firing her for'ard guns until another salvo hit her, and she was blown right out of the water, only about 100 yards away from us. The explosion was deafening, and when it had ceased the brave old *Defence* had completely disappeared."

When the clouds of smoke had cleared away, not a trace of the *Defence* was to be seen. The entire ship, with its complement of 850 officers and men, had disappeared.

To return again to the article in *The Great War*, we read as follows :¹

"It cannot be said that the fourteen hundred men in the *Defence* and *Black Prince* and the men killed in the *Warrior* went to their deaths in vain. The mist no doubt led Sir Robert Arbuthnot into a terrible ambush, but a gallant tactical idea can be traced in the sacrifice he made. He succeeded in taking the fire off the 1st and 2nd Battle-Cruiser Squadron and 5th Battle Squadron during a most critical period, when the Grand Fleet was deploying and when the full fire of the enemy fleet was concentrated upon Admiral Beatty's ships.

"Sir Robert Arbuthnot was a fine, gentle, simple man, with the heroic temper of a Grenville and the devotion to duty of a Collingwood. The last time Collingwood went afloat he said to a friend: 'My family are actually strangers to me. What

¹ Pp. 439-40.

a life of privation ours is—what an abandonment of everything to our professional duty! And how little do the people of England know the sacrifices we make for them.' So Sir Robert Arbuthnot never slept ashore after the war broke out.

"When he went into the *Defence*, men reckoned that he went to death. His armoured cruiser was not fit to stand up to modern ships, yet she could not be held back in battle by an Admiral who intended to do the utmost he could for the Empire when the great chance offered. There was a period of twenty minutes' danger when Admiral Beatty's Cruiser Fleet shortened the range and five or six German battleships, close astern of the German battle-cruisers, were attempting to deliver a final concentrated fire on the British battle-cruisers just before the battle squadrons of the Grand Fleet came into action. Then it was that Sir Robert Arbuthnot interposed his little weak squadron between the enemy fleet and the Battle-Cruiser Fleet and crushed the German torpedo onslaught. Admiral Arbuthnot's heroic and well-conceived movement of sacrifice was one of the finest deeds of an historic day."

Among the many touching and beautiful letters received by Lady Arbuthnot after the sad event, was one from the mother of one of the midshipmen on board the *Defence*, in which she spoke of the boy's devotion to Sir Robert, and his pride in having been recently promoted to be "Admiral's doggie," and said it was a consolation to her to know that he would have been near the Admiral at the last, because she knew that Sir Robert would have done all that could be done for the boy at such a moment. Many other letters from men in the service bore witness to the high opinion entertained of him in the Navy, and of the disappointment felt that such a fine career should have been cut short in his first action.

Sir Robert was the author of *A Commander's Order Book for a Mediterranean Battleship*, published in 1900, and *Details and Station Bill for a Battleship*, published the following year, both standard works in the Navy.

Sir Robert married (11th December, 1897) Lina, daughter of Colonel A. C. Macleay, C.B., 3rd Seaforth Highlanders, and had issue one daughter—

Rosalind Desirée, born 28th February, 1906.

Brigadier-General Sir Dalrymple Arbuthnot, fifth Baronet, C.M.G., D.S.O., R.F.A., second son of Sir William Wedderburn Arbuthnot, was born 1st April, 1867. He entered the Army in 1886, was Captain in 1896, Major in 1901, and Lieut.-Colonel in 1913; he was Staff-Officer in South Africa in 1900, and Assistant Staff-Officer for Colonial Forces in 1902; served in the Chitral campaign, 1895 (Medal with clasp); in South Africa, 1899-1902 (Queen's Medal with three clasps, King's Medal with two clasps); served in the European War, 1914-18 (Despatches, Brevet-Colonel, C.M.G., D.S.O.). He succeeded to the Baronetcy on his brother's death in 1916, and married, at St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, 15th January, 1918, his cousin, Alice Maud, only daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Lyttelton Arbuthnot (p. 312), and has issue—

Robert Dalrymple, born 4th July, 1919.

PART VI

LINE DESCENDING FROM
GEORGE ARBUTHNOT OF ELDESLIE

FIFTH SON OF ROBERT ARBUTHNOT,
SECOND OF HADDO-RATTRAY

LINE DESCENDING FROM GEORGE ARBUTHNOT
OF ELDERSLIE, FIFTH SON OF ROBERT
ARBUTHNOT, SECOND OF HADDORATTRAY

GEORGE ARBUTHNOT, afterwards of Elderslie, Surrey, fifth son of Robert Arbuthnot, second of Haddor Rattray, and Mary Urquhart, was born in Edinburgh, 4th December, 1772. This was the year in which his father's fortunes were at the lowest possible ebb, through the failure of his firm, Arbuthnot and Guthrie. There was an epidemic of bank failures in Edinburgh in that unfortunate year, the day of the cataclysm being known as "Black Monday," 8th June, 1772. Messrs. Coutts and Co., then an Edinburgh firm, were rudely shaken, and a run on their bank was only averted by the providential arrival from London of £3,000 in specie, which, being magnified by rumour into two millions sterling, caused the panic-stricken public to fly with their money to Coutts and Co., who found themselves amid the general ruin almost overwhelmed with cash deposits. The Arbuthnot family, with hundreds of others, were completely ruined. Many years later, George Arbuthnot of Elderslie wrote of this period as follows in his diary: "December 4th, 1830. Fifty-eight years ago I came into the world. From the misfortunes which had attended my father in business in the previous part of that year, 1772, my prospects were poor enough, and I have heard my dear and excellent Mother say that so limited were the Means of the family at that period, and so uncheering the view before her, that she would have considered herself happy and fortunate if she could have been assured of an Income of £200 a year." The many friends of Robert Arbuthnot and Mary Urquhart stood by them loyally in their distress. We have seen that a principal one was Sir Robert Murray Keith. Others were the partners in Messrs. Coutts and Co. and their relations the Trotters, who, far from

taking a selfish satisfaction in the ruin that had served to advance their own prospects, acted with the generosity that has always characterized their house, and extended friendly and helpful hands to their less fortunate neighbours. It was almost certainly due to the influence of the Coutts family that the young Robert Arbuthnot, elder brother of George Arbuthnot of Elderslie, was appointed in 1801 to be Chief Secretary to the Hon. Frederick North, Governor of Ceylon.*

In April, 1801, George Arbuthnot, also destined for the Ceylon Civil Service, left England with his brother Robert, in the *Henry Dundas*, sailing under escort, owing to the fact that this country was then at war with France. An odd volume of diary kept by George Arbuthnot during this voyage seems to have been given by him to his youngest son, William Reiersen, from whom it passed to the latter's eldest surviving son, my husband. Some extracts from this diary, which contains a minute account of various details of the voyage, will be found in Appendix VI, where will also be found many extracts from a later series of diaries, the originals of which are now at Warthill, in the possession of Mr. William Arbuthnot Leslie.

The *Henry Dundas* arrived at Colombo in September, 1801, at a period when the island had reached a critical point in its history, and troubles were beginning to gather round the administration of Mr. North. Friction between the British on the coast and the native kingdom of Kandy in the interior had become acute, and in the hope of restoring order Mr. North had countenanced some negotiations with the Adigar, or first minister, of the King of Kandy. These negotiations disclosed the blackest treachery in the Adigar—whose avowed intention was to murder or depose the young King—and have been severely commented upon by Sir Emerson Tennent in his *Ceylon*, as derogating from the dignity Mr. North should have maintained in all his dealings with the native state. Mr. North, however, held that circumstances justified him in the course he pursued, for to break off negotiations with

* Mr. North, afterwards fifth Earl of Guilford, had been Governor of Ceylon since 1798. His elder brother, George, third Earl of Guilford, was at this time the husband of Susan, daughter of Thomas Coutts, founder of the celebrated London firm of Coutts and Co.

the treacherous Adigar would have meant the instant murder of the King. Mr. North, therefore, while sternly forbidding any attempt on the King's life, acquiesced in a plan for his deposition. The Adigar was to reign in his stead, and it was hoped that a strong, though unprincipled ruler might maintain order in the interior, put an end to the constant acts of provocation committed by the Kandians, and establish permanent friendly relations with the English on the coast.

Things were in this position when, in September, 1801, Robert and George Arbuthnot, with other prospective Civil Servants, reached Colombo. The two brothers were received with the utmost kindness by Mr. North, and they took up their abode with him at Government House. An old letter-book at Warhill contains copies of many letters written by George Arbuthnot about this time. Several are addressed, to "Thomas Coutts, Esq., London," others to "Coutts Trotter, Esq.," and others to the latter's brother, "John Trotter, Esq." These lifelong friends of his family were all partners in the firm of Coutts and Co., then carrying on business in London and Edinburgh.

Before George Arbuthnot's departure from England, John Trotter had told him that if, on arrival in the East, he should see any advantageous way of laying out money and should find himself short of ready cash for the purpose, he was welcome to draw upon him for a substantial amount. No specific sum was mentioned, and George Arbuthnot, seeing a profitable investment in connection with the importation of gold coin from the coast of Coromandel, seems to have felt some difficulty in deciding how far he ought to take advantage of the friendly offer.

On 26th September, 1801, he wrote to Coutts Trotter as follows :

" . . . It is my intention to profit by the Governour's (your brother Jack's) goodness in an offer he made me just before I left London, of advancing me a Sum of money in case I should meet with opportunities of laying it out to advantage.

" Jack did not mention any specific Sum, but said with an Emphasis : ' You may draw upon me to a Considerable Amount.' I have thought much what this amount should be ; I have

on the one hand considered the extent and largeness of Jack's ideas, and on the other the delicacy I ought to observe towards him, as well as the Complete deficiency of Security on a Loan to me.

"Drawing the line as well as I could between the two Considerations, I have come to the resolution of availing myself of Jack's kindness to the extent of £2,000: for which I shall contrive to draw in different Bills, probably through the House of your Correspondent, Mr. Lautour, and I shall transmit home to the Governour my Bond, and shall make an arrangement with my Brother to get the Interest paid out of Dividends in his Stock coming half-yearly into your Hands.

"I assure you that whatever I have the good fortune to make, over my absolutely necessary expenses, shall be laid by with Care, and I shall look upon every Pagoda saved as a Step towards Home, where I still hope to return before either you or I are too old to enjoy each other's Company."

On the 3rd October following, he writes as follows to John Trotter:

" . . . I shall only say that every day I pass here confirms me in the favourable opinion I formed on my arrival of the Beauty of the Country and the pleasantness of the Climate.

"In the morning and evening there is a freshness in the air that is quite delightful, and altho' the heat during the day is greater than we generally have it in England, yet there are here so many precautions taken against it, that upon the whole I do not think one ever feels so much oppressed as you do in a hot July day in our own Country.

"The houses in Ceylon are the strangest-looking, unfinished and unfurnished places that can be imagined, but they are excellently well contrived for coolness. In the whole City of Colombo there is but one house of 2 stories (which is inhabited by General Mcdowall, a brother of Garthland's). All the others have but one, and very few of them have any covering to the apartments except the tiles upon the roof.

"A house is a long stripe of building, consisting of a Suite of Rooms communicating one with another, and each Room has also a door of communication to the Verandah, or Long Gallery, which extends the whole length of the building on



George Arbuthnot of Elderslie (d. 1843).
From a portrait at Warthill.



Eliza Fraser, wife of George Arbuthnot of Elderslie.
From a miniature at Warthill.

both sides, and which, although sheltered from the rain, admits the wind on all sides and gives through draughts of air to all the apartments.

" These verandahs are supported by clumsy wooden posts, but had they been built by Italians instead of Dutch architects, these would probably be Tuscan or Doric columns.

" You cannot imagine anything equal to the Ignorance, Pride, Imbecility and Brutality of the late Government of this Country, under the Hollanders.¹ The whole system of their legislation was founded on the maxim 'Oppose the natives,' and to be sure they acted up to that Doctrine in its fullest extent. These enlightened Rulers had a particular dread that the natives wished to enjoy some of the Comforts of Life, such as Light, Air and Shelter, and when Mr. North first arrived he received Petitions from various quarters to grant permission to make windows in the Houses and to roof them with Tiles instead of Leaves.

" His answer was that he granted the permission required, and hoped soon to see every House in the Island with windows, and as many of the owners as could bear the Expence sheltered from the weather with Tiles, or in any manner the Petitioners might find to their Taste and Convenience; with which concession the Dutch Burghers were extremely scandalized.

" It will be three weeks to-morrow since I entered upon my office of Deputy Secretary to the Government of Ceylon, a Situation which I have obtained through my Brother's application and Mr. North's kindness, and it is of all others that which I like the best, and in which (if I do not flatter myself) I may be of most use. . . .

" The Salary attached to my office is £1,000 a-year, of which I think I shall be able to save one half, but I must endeavour to lay up something more, otherwise you will be fourscore before I can expect to see you again.

" With this view, I have been looking about to see if there be not any trade that might be carried on to advantage, and

¹ Ceylon had been conquered from the Dutch in 1796. It was at first placed under the East India Company and administered from Madras, but this leading to discontent and friction, it was in 1798 transformed into a Crown colony, and in that year, as has been said, Mr. Frederick North was sent out as first British Governor of the island.

I have been attracted by one which I think might be managed without any impropriety in my Official Situation."

He goes on to describe the prospects of a trade in gold coin with the Coast of Coromandel. Gold was exceedingly rare in Ceylon, the currency being almost entirely copper and, for large sums, paper. If gold coins were obtained in Coromandel, they could be disposed of in Ceylon at a considerable premium, and this traffic appeared to George Arbuthnot both simple and lucrative. After imparting his ideas to John Trotter, he adds: "But I must study it a great deal more before I begin to act."

Continuing, he writes: "It will be necessary, however, at all events if I am to do anything in this kind of Business that I should be provided with a Fund to carry it on, and I do intend to avail myself of your Kindness, my dear Governour, to make such provision.

"I know you too well to think you should ever make an offer without meaning and wishing that it may be accepted, and when you proposed on the evening of the 17th April, to advance me a Sum towards helping me in any Speculation I might enter into, I resolved to profit by it, if an opportunity tolerably safe and favourable should present itself.

"I shall not mince the matter, but shall draw upon you for the good round Sum of £2,000 stg., and shall transmit to you at same time my Bond or obligation, making the Interest payable out of my Brother's Income, received by Messrs. T. Coutts and Company.

"If I have tolerable luck, I shall hope in the course of a few Years to return you this Loan; if, on the contrary, I am unfortunate, you may lose your money.

"But I can assure you of one thing, which is that until I have returned it to you, I shall never think of turning my face towards Europe, and the wish nearest my heart is to return thither at such an age as once more to enjoy the Society of the Gang with whom you and I have passed so many happy days. . . .

"The Governour, in whose house my Brother and I have lived ever since we came on shore, is one who may be set up as an example to all the Governours on the face of the

Earth; in Business, he is clear, active and indefatigable, and really works harder than any Man in his Government. In Society, he is a perfect delight, easy and playful in his manners, good-natured and kind to the greatest degree, and possessing such a fancy and imagination as give the most delightful effect to every word he says. . . ."

On 4th October, 1801, he writes to Thomas Coutts:

" You will probably have heard from Mr. Coutts Trotter¹ of my having been appointed by Mr. North Deputy Secretary to this Government, which, if I am so fortunate as to give satisfaction to the Governour and my Brother, I hope may lead to others of greater emolument. In respect to trust and occupation, my present office is exactly what I like."

In April, 1802, an unfortunate occurrence, destined to lead to terrible results, took place in Ceylon. A caravan of Moors, British subjects, was attacked when returning peaceably to Putlam from Kandy, and their merchandise forcibly taken from them, by order of the King of Kandy.

Compensation for this injury was instantly demanded by Mr. North, in the name of the British Government, but was not obtainable, and after some time had been spent in useless negotiation, it was decided to despatch an armed force to the interior to demand satisfaction. The expedition, under General Macdowall, did not start until the following February (1803), when it had no difficulty in taking possession of Kandy, the King flying precipitately, while a member of his family, Moodha Sawmy, was appointed to reign in his stead, under British protection. The object of the expedition appeared to have been swiftly and almost bloodlessly obtained, while the disaster that followed a little later was far from being foreseen.

In the meantime Mr. North had many conflicting anxieties to disturb him. He had to deal with complaints from the home Government, inefficiency and corruption among his

¹ Mr. Coutts Trotter, afterwards Sir Coutts Trotter, Bart., of Westville, Lincolnshire, was the fourth son of Archibald Trotter of Bush and Castlclaw, Through the latter's mother, Jean, daughter of Sir Robert Stuart of Allanbank. the Trotters were nearly related to the family of Coutts. Various members of the family of Trotter were at different times partners in Coutts and Co., which, at some time in the eighteenth century, bore the style of "Coutts and Trotter."

staff, and many other difficulties, some of which are referred to in a letter addressed by George Arbuthnot to Lord Glenbervie on 17th September, 1802.

Speaking of a letter Mr. North had recently received from Lord Hobart,¹ he remarks of it that "although conveying an assurance of the King's continued approbation, and of general Compliment from his Lordship, is still by no means a Sugar Plum!" Lord Hobart, it seems, had insisted on drastic economies in the administration of the island, of which George writes that "Notwithstanding that to his Lordship's observations on the general principle are joined some Retrenchments which cannot fail to be painful to Mr. North, yet I must say I am glad that Lord H. has been so explicit and that he has put his Finger on particular objects rather than if he had made a general complaint of our Extravagance and not told us expressly in what points he thought us so." After dealing at length with various complaints in Lord Hobart's letter, George Arbuthnot remarks that "Boyd says that the Governour, altho' as anxious to save the public Purse as any Man can be,—and God knows, infinitely more so than he is to save his own—does not like to be preached Economy, either in the one or the other; nevertheless, he has taken Lord Hobart's lecture on the Subject fully as well as could be expected, and I daresay his Lordship will have no cause to complain of his wishes being neglected."

George Arbuthnot goes on to describe some retrenchments Mr. North had written to propose to Lord Hobart a few days before receiving the latter's letter. A saving of £13,000 a year was proposed in the Civil Service charges, and, after detailing alterations proposed for the Revenue Board and the Supreme Court, George Arbuthnot adds: "The Governour in his Letter to Lord Hobart, says that he only proposes these Alterations and Reforms on the *Civil Death* of the present Incumbents; now my dear Lord, if you should happen to be Secretary of State,² or have the same influence in directing

¹ Lord Hobart, afterwards fourth Earl of Buckinghamshire, was Secretary of State for War and for the Colonies at this time.

² Lord Glenbervie had been a Lord of the Treasury from 1797 to 1800. At the date when this letter was written he was Vice-President of the Board of Trade. He was Mr. North's brother-in-law, having married in 1789 Lady Catherine North, daughter of Frederick, second Earl of Guilford.

the affairs of this Island as you had when I became a member of your Family, you will be able to hasten this *Civil Death*, and by so doing will render a most valuable Service to the Scanty Funds and limited Resources of our little Government."

About this time Mr. Coutts Trotter wrote to George Arbuthnot, proposing to him that he should give up his post in Ceylon and enter upon a business career. The plan was that he should attach himself to Messrs. Lautour and Co., a Madras firm of bankers who acted as correspondents of Messrs. Coutts and Co. This was sound advice, and George Arbuthnot, who realized the urgent necessity of making money as soon as possible, in order to assist his parents, then living in Edinburgh in reduced circumstances, decided to fall in with his friend's suggestion. He left Ceylon in October, 1802, with regret, for the life suited him and he felt besides a deep personal affection towards Mr. North, but in his mind the duty of providing for his father and mother was paramount, as is apparent in many passages of his letters, where his anxious solicitude for them is repeatedly expressed.

His next letter, addressed to John Trotter, Esq., Soho Square, London, is dated from Fort St. George, 30th January, 1803 :

"MY DEAR GOVERNOUR,

"Before this reaches you, you will have heard of my forsaking Politicks and taking to Trade. The consequences of which will, I hope, be 1st. that I shall pay you back the sum you have been so good as lend me much sooner than I could have done had I remained in an official Situation and 2ndly, that I shall return home to the enjoyment of your Society in a shorter period than I could have done from Ceylon. . . .

"During the twelve months I was in Ceylon, I have saved about £700, which was pretty well, considering that my Allowance was only one Thousand. The whole of that saving, however, must now be expended in setting me up in Madras. . . . I shall not be guilty of extravagance, of that be assured, and if Mr. Lautour's absence* shall happily not make great difference in the proceedings of the House, I hope

* Mr. Francis Lautour, head of the firm of Lautour and Co. of Madras, appears to have been absent in England at this time.

by this time twelvemonth to give you a satisfactory Account of my Circumstances.

“ I am disappointed, my dear Jack, at receiving no Letters from you since I came to India. It cannot be possible, I think, that I am become indifferent to you ; at least, I am sure that no length of time or distance of place will ever be able to lessen the Affection I feel for you. When I was in Somerset Place, not a mile from you, you used to send me frequently two or three Notes in one day, and now that I am removed to half the circuit of the Globe, two years have nearly elapsed without your having once sent me a single Line. . . .”

In July, 1802, Mr. Coutts Trotter had married Margaret, daughter of Lord Rockville (a Lord of Session), fourth son of William, second Earl of Aberdeen. George Arbuthnot writes to him as follows from Madras, 9th May, 1803 : “ . . . I am disappointed at not having heard from you after your marriage ; of you, I have heard much, for I never receive a Dispatch from the Family at Edinburgh that there are not many Paragraphs about you. They know the Subjects which give me most pleasure, and on these they dwell,—consequently your marriage has been detailed from many quarters and in many ways, but they all unite in praising your wife.—They tell me that she resembles *Lady Glenbervie*, for that altho’ beautiful in a high degree, you cannot be long in her Company and hear her Conversation, without forgetting her personal attractions, and think only of her good Manners, good Nature and good Principles.—You know, you and I used often to say that we could not be half an hour with Lady G. without forgetting altogether the appearance of her Countenance. . . .

“ How do you now live, and with whom do you live ? do you follow fashion or do you lead it ? . . . How is Mr. Coutts’ health now, and how do he and Mr. Lautour take to each other ? By the way, I hope you are kind and attentive to old Francis, if it were only as a return for the kindness he has shewn to me. . . . Mr. Lautour will, I am sure, be happy to hear that his Absence has not been attended with any uncomfortable effect to the House, which I own I sometimes apprehended might be the case ; far from there being any run upon it, more money has been offered than we thought

it expedient to receive, and if at present we have any embarrassment, it is the difficulty of placing in a proper manner a part of the immense Sum now lodged in our Coffers. We do not like to put it out of our command at short notice, because there is every Probability of Government requiring our Aid in the course of three or four months, and as upon such Occasions this House has been the first to stand forward, we shall be anxious, now that our Head is gone, not to let our Character for Loyalty and Resource fall off. . . ."

On 22nd May he writes to his mother: ". . . I am made very anxious by your last about my Father's Health, which you mention having been rather precarious for some time past; I would fain hope he may have got well through the winter and that another jaunt North or South in Summer will set him up again and give him a renewed lease. I shall wait with very great impatience and anxiety for your next letters. . . . Your letter no. 13 is addressed to the care of this House, but you have mistaken the name of it, as you call us *Le Tour and Co.*, but as you are now connected with the Firm, you must write it correctly, *Lautour and Co.* . . ." Referring to the children of his sister, Lady Hunter, he writes: "I am happy to hear that you think Robert Hunter is something like me, because I hope he will also resemble his Uncle in a certain kind of Good Spirits and lightness of mind which have carried him through many difficulties and kept him chearful and happy under many and severe privations. It is so long since I lost my Sister Mary¹ that I have scarce any remembrance of her Countenance (altho' I remember the night she died as well as if it were yesterday), I cannot therefore form any idea of my little niece Jane² but I am much pleased with your account of her. . . ."

George Arbuthnot's anxiety about his father's failing health is shown in the following letter, dated from Fort St. George, 19th June, 1803, and addressed to his brother Robert in Colombo:

". . . You see what my Father says about our Letters doing his health good; for God's sake let us keep him well

¹ She died in Edinburgh, 8th March, 1791, aged 16.

² Jane Hunter, afterwards Mrs. David Charles Guthrie, grandmother of the late Mr. David Charles Guthrie of Craigie.

by sending him abundance of such physic. But there is another thing which has often come into my head, although I never till now thought myself in a situation to speak of it ; would not a Carriage be a great comfort to my Father and Mother and also a convenience to Jane ? They will never agree to keep one unless *we* force them to it, and, if you see no objection, I am willing to bear half the expence of the purchase, and to remit home to T.C. and Co.¹ £100 a year for the half of its maintenance. . . .

“ It would be a grand surprise (and, to my Father, I think, a very agreeable one) to have a neat, plain Carriage drive up to the door, and Peter with a grave Countenance coming to announce it. . . . ”

The following month, July, 1803, terrible news reached the mainland from Ceylon. The outrage committed by the Kandians against some British merchants the preceding year has already been referred to. The disastrous events that followed have been fully narrated by Sir J. Emerson Tennent in his *Ceylon*, and can be best summarized here by quoting a report drawn up some months later by George Arbuthnot for the information of Lord William Bentinck, who succeeded Lord Clive as Governor of Madras in August, 1803.²

After relating in full the provocation the British Government had received, the report continues as follows :

“ The Governour caused a Statement of the Matter to be drawn up and sent to the King of Kandy,³ with his Request that Reparation might be done, either by restoring the Goods or paying their value to the Complainants.

“ The facts were admitted by the Court and a promise given of immediate Restoration, and the People invited to come to Kandy,⁴ in order to have it fulfilled.—But those poor People, after wasting six Months in that Country in fruitless solicitations, were deprived of the Cattle which they had brought for the purpose of transporting their Merchandise,

¹ Thomas Coutts and Co.

² A full copy of this report is in one of the letter-books at Warthill.

³ Note in margin : “ In July, 1802.”

⁴ Margin : “ Sept., 1802.”

and were threatened with imprisonment and Death unless they would immediately depart.

"On this, the British Government had recourse to Arms.¹ Two small Armies marched at the same time from Colombo and Trincomalee, and met at the city of Kandy, which was taken without the loss of a Man.

"We had soon, however, to regret the loss of many Lives from the Insalubrity of the air,—a circumstance which there was the less reason to expect, as, three years before, at the same season of the year, General Macdowall as Ambassador had passed five or six weeks at Kandy, attended by an Escort of 300 Persons, not one of whom experienced any Indisposition.

"A strong Detachment of our Troops was stationed in Kandy, under the Command of Colonel Barbut, and had Provision and Ammunition for a long time; but the Jungle Fever began to make dreadful Havock among our Officers and Men, and Mr. North was glad to take advantage of a Truce (asked by the Kandians)² to enter again into Negotiation with the Adigar, and had even made arrangements for the Evacuation of the Town, but Colonel Barbut, secure in his own Resources and hopeful of the approaching change of weather re-establishing the Health of the Troops, persuaded the Governour and General of the advantage of retaining possession of the Place.—In the meantime, the negotiations with the Adigar ended in a Treaty, which he signed, and by which it was agreed that a Road should be cut through the Kandian country, so as to make a Communication direct between Colombo and Trincomalee.

"The Adigar promised to meet General Macdowall at Kandy, and there to begin to fulfil the Treaty, the first Article of which was to place Prince Mudha Sawmy on the abdicated throne, but this treacherous Miscreant (the Adigar) did not come to Kandy until a Month after the General had left it,³ and he then came, not to fulfil the Treaty, but to attack the English Garrison, which had suffered an irretrievable loss in the Death of the Commandant, Lt.-Colonel Barbut,—and which was now greatly reduced by Sickness and by the desertion of

¹ Margin: "In February, 1803."

² Margin: "In May, 1803."

³ Margin: "About the 20th June, 1803."

many of the Malay Soldiers, the want of opium having driven those People almost to desperation.¹

“ Major Davie, the Successor of Colonel Barbut in the Command, not knowing the faithless character of the Adigar, entered into Capitulation,² with him, gave up the unfortunate Prince Mudha Sawmy,³ and took the fatal step of relinquishing his Arms.”

What had happened was this :

On finding himself treacherously attacked by the Kandians, Major Davie, an inexperienced officer, thought it best to enter into a treaty with the Adigar, by the terms of which he and his men were to be allowed to withdraw to Trincomalee unmolested, while the many sick who had to be abandoned were to be tended and cared for until they could be transported to the coast. This treaty being duly signed, Major Davie and his troops left Kandy on the evening of the 24th June, apparently without misgiving, and proceeded a mile and a half on the road to Trincomalee. Here a river very much swollen with recent rains impeded their advance. They were obliged to halt for the night, and, the following morning, after some time had been spent in trying to improvise rafts, the little force found itself once more surrounded by hordes of armed Kandians. A haughty message was now delivered to Major Davie on behalf of the King of Kandy, commanding him to surrender Moodha Sawmy, and promising that if he did so, boats should be provided to convey his troops across the river. Major Davie at first refused with indignation to listen to such a dishonourable proposal, but on being assured that the Prince would be well treated, and that in the event of a refusal his force would be attacked by the Kandians and not allowed to cross the river, he decided to surrender the Prince. Moodha Sawmy, when informed of his decision, and with no illusions as to what his fate would be, exclaimed bitterly : “ My

¹ The attenuated force with which Major Davie marched out of Kandy on the 24th of June, consisted of fourteen European officers, twenty British soldiers, two hundred and fifty Malays and one hundred and forty gun Lascars, besides Prince Moodha Sawmy and his attendants.—See Philatheles' *History of Ceylon*, 1817, pp. 162-3, and Henry Marshall's *Ceylon*, pp. 97-8.

² Margin : “ The 24th June, 1803.”

³ Margin : “ The 25th June, 1803.”

God ! is it possible that the arms of England can be so humbled as to fear the menaces of such cowards as the Kandians ? ” He was handed over to his enemies and instantly murdered. Worse was to follow. No boats were provided, and the following day the British force found itself again surrounded. Another insulting message from the King now ordered them to lay down their arms and return at once to Kandy. Extraordinary to relate, the British officers seem to have hoped that by submitting to this ignominy they would save the lives of themselves and their troops. The men gave up their arms and commenced their doleful march to Kandy. Half way there they were stopped and brutally murdered, almost to a man.¹

Major Davie’s life, for some unknown reason, was preserved, and he remained for several years a close prisoner among the Kandians. A few pencil notes were received from him from time to time, but all demands for his surrender were unavailing. He died in this miserable captivity, without ever having had an opportunity of clearing his name from the grave imputations that rest upon it.

Lack of troops prevented Mr. North taking the effective steps necessary to punish the Kandians for this infamous act. He applied in vain to the Governor-General of India for assistance, but owing to war breaking out again between England and France, it was impossible to send to Ceylon the reinforcements required. George Arbuthnot did his best to move the authorities in Madras to send troops, as appears from a letter of his to Mr. North, dated from Fort St. George, 10th July, 1803 :

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I wrote yesterday a few hurried Lines to Robert, to tell him of the arrival here of the dreadful news from Kandy which have spread a gloom upon every Countenance.

“ I called this morning at Lord Clive’s,² and had a long Conversation with H. L. on the present state of your affairs.

¹ One man, Corporal Barnsley, alone escaped the carnage, and made his way to the coast with the terrible news. His account of the scene and of his extraordinary escape are printed in Henry Marshall’s *Ceylon*.

² Lord Clive, son of the great founder of our Indian Empire, was Governor of Madras from 1798 to 1803. He was, in the following year, created Earl of Powis.

" I told Lord C. that from the Kandians no danger was to be apprehended for Colombo or Trincomalee, Jaffna or Galle, but that I was very uneasy for Putlam, Chilaw, Negombo, Matura and Batticaloa.

" The Kandians, emboldened by their late attack, and having tasted European Blood, and more especially encouraged by the Booty of the Malays who have joined them, may be likely to attack and plunder those defenceless places, and that I was sure H. L. would do an essential Service to the General Interests of our Country, if he would give you a reinforcement of 4 or 5 Companies of Europeans and a Battalion of Natives.

" Lord Clive said he was well convinced that let matters be as they might, a supply of Troops seemed necessary for the Island, but that at present he found it utterly out of his power to detach a single man from this Coast, as the present Establishment is greatly inadequate to the calls that may be made upon it. . . .

" Lord Clive said that if the Directors had given him the Military Estab^t he had applied for, he would this day have been able to send you 1500 Men.

" As matters are, then, and with your very small Force, I am beating my Brains to find out what you will do. I much fear you will find it necessary to make a temporary Sacrifice of Revenue, and call your Collectors, Provincial Judges, &c., from their Stations to your fortresses.—This would be a sad thing, but it is better to lose Money than run the risk of having your People murdered. . . ."

A week later George Arbuthnot wrote to his brother Robert :

" . . . Poor Davie must certainly have been panic struck, but are you not astonished that some of his officers did not remonstrate with him on the baseness of giving up poor Moodha Sawmy, and the folly of afterwards making his men ground their Arms ?—I almost should regret that Davie should have survived the Affair, for there is a terrible outcry against him from all quarters. . . ."

It appears that about this time his brother Robert remonstrated with him for some supposed extravagance, and George

Arbuthnot replied to his strictures as follows, on the 21st July, 1803 :

“ . . . I observe you regret that I have become a Proprietor of the Assembly Rooms here, but, my dear Robert, were you to know all the foolish and idle Expences we are obliged to commit at this extravagant place, you would be confounded. As to being a Subscriber to the Rooms, that was almost as indispensable as my being one of the Grand Jury when summoned by the Sheriff ;—taking a share in the property was, I will own, not so absolutely necessary, but still it is a proper thing that this House should have one of its Members to take a Share in the trouble and Expence of supporting the public Hospitality and Entertainment of the Settlement ; it happens unluckily, to be sure, that I, the only poor Partner in the Concern, must represent the others in those situations where there is either representation or expence.—Both M. Coulon and M. Geslin live very retiredly, and it is with difficulty I can get them to go even to the Governor’s when they are asked. . . .”

On 27th July he wrote to Mr. North :

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ . . . I am truly glad that amidst all the horrors which have lately happened, and all the pain you must have felt, your Health continues good,—pray my dear Sir, take care of it, and do not let a Misfortune which was unavoidable prey upon your spirits. . . . I dined *en famille* with Clivus yesterday, and had a good deal of talk with him about sending you some Troops. He said it was with much regret he now found that he could not with safety at present detach any more men from the Coast than the 2 Companies of the 34th who were embarked yesterday ; that you might be sure this proceeded from no reluctance on his part to assist you, for that he had communicated on the subject of sending you some Sepoys, both with General Stuart and General Smith.—His Lord^p added that bye and bye, when the recruiting of the New Corps is a little advanced, he hopes to be able to give you a few hundred Men, therefore you are to *keep asking*.

* In these letters Lord Clive is frequently referred to as “ Clivus.”

“ There is a very general and violent outcry against Davie for making his Men give up their Arms, but more so still for the treacherous Act, as they say, of giving up the poor Rajah Moodha Sawmy. . . .”

On 1st August he wrote to Mr. Boyd, who was Mr. North's private secretary, and seems to have been addressed as “ Sir William ” by his intimates :

“ MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM,

“ You cannot imagine how strange and various my feelings have been on the Occasion of the horrible event which lately took place at Kandy. At first I felt a gloomy horror, and was thankful I was off the Island when such a Tragedy was acted,—but I soon got over that most painful feeling, and my old zeal for our little Government came back as fresh as it used to be when I sat with you, twaddling over its concerns at your desk, and I assure you, I have not let that zeal lie dormant, but have stirred about and have been so constant a suitor to the Gov^t on behalf of Ceylon, that they seem to look upon me now as an authorized Agent.

“ I have been putting every Iron in the Fire to get you some Sepoys, hitherto without Success, but I do not despair, and I *think* I have this day got the Chief Secretary to second my views. I have reduced my demand to two Companies (200 Men) and I am this moment going to Lord Clive to follow up the Conversation I had with Buchan in the morning. . . .”

Writing to his mother on 6th August he says :

“ . . . I trust in God, my dear Mother, that your next Letters will confirm the favourable Accounts with which your last concluded, respecting my dear Father's Health.—Your kind attendance upon him during the last Winter was like yourself, and your own feelings must be your reward. Robert seems quite decided about going home in three or four years, by which time I hope he will be worth £30,000. I cannot look to return so soon as that period, but if it pleases God to give me Health and Strength, I hope in 7 or 8 years to acquire such a Competency as may warrant my retiring from the respectable and comfortable Business in which I am now established, and enable me to bring up a family, if I should

ever have one, in Credit and Independence. My friends must not expect me to bring home a large Fortune ;—Mr. Lautour has acquired one, but he has been making it for about 30 years, and he rose from such small beginnings that he was probably worth £100,000 before he spent one half of what it is necessary for me to do now, who do not possess a fiftieth part of that Sum. I promise you that whatever I bring shall be honestly gained, and I know that will content you.”

In a letter to his sister Jane, dated 17th August, he writes as follows of Madras :

“ I am . . . wonderfully reconciled to it as a Residence, for by the Letters I wrote soon after my arrival here, you must observe that I could not at that time abide it, and really I secretly wished Mr. Lautour’s proposals to me might be such as I could not accept, in order to give me an opportunity of returning to my little Secretaryship at Colombo. The case is very different now. I have got myself established, if not in the genteelest and most fashionable, yet in an honourable and respectable line. I have found my way into a very good Society, amongst whom there are some my very intimate and I believe sincerely attached Friends. . . . Lord Clive has been very good to me, and I have for many months had a general Invitation to his Table, when not engaged elsewhere, which I can tell you is a *convenient* as well as an agreeable Circumstance. . . . I continue to hear very regularly, almost daily, from Robert, and also very often from Mr. North. My dear Jane, if I were Secretary ten times over, I could not be on happier or more intimate terms with that most amiable Man. He and all of them have had a sad time of it lately, as Robert’s Letter will shew you. I have been labouring to get them some assistance in respect to Military Force ; of money I have sent them about £30,000 in the course of the last six Months, by which you will probably think me very rich, but in good sooth that is not the case. If I keep my Health, and things go on smoothly for seven or eight years, I think I may promise myself the Happiness of coming amongst you, not with a large Fortune, but with as much as will satisfy your moderate views, my beloved Jane. . . .”

George Arbuthnot's wish to provide his parents with a carriage has already been referred to. In the following letter, addressed to his brother William at Edinburgh, and dated from Fort St. George, 18th August, 1803, he enters into the details of his plan. It is sad to reflect that the little scene he sought to prepare with so much loving forethought can never have taken place as projected, for his father died at Edinburgh on the 5th November that year, before his son's letter can even have reached England.

" DEAR WILLIAM,

" The purpose of this secret Dispatch is to communicate to you and to request your assistance in managing a little affair in which you will greatly oblige Rob^t as myself.—Several of the Letters we have rec^d from home mention that my Father and Mother frequently went out in a Carriage, hired or borrowed. This has brought it into our Heads to procure for them the Comfort of riding in one more commodious than a Hack Chaise or Hackney Coach, and more at their Command than the Carriage of a Friend can ever be,—and we mean that you should have your share of the pleasure arising from this Scheme by charging you with the business of executing the Commission.

" You will therefore, my dear Fellow, with all convenient speed, purchase a plain, but very well finished Coach or Chaise, as you and Anne¹ and Jane shall judge most expedient and commodious, taking care that it be particularly well lined, so as to be snug and warm, and that it be of very easy ascent. The Expence not to exceed £300.

" Item, a Pair of strong, steady Horses, black or bays, the cost of which we hope will not exceed 100 guineas. You will then engage as a Coachman a Man on whose Sobriety you can depend, and get him properly cloathed. When all is provided, you must contrive a party to Mavisbank, or anywhere else you please, and instead of a hack Chaise for my Father and Mother, you must have their own Carriage drive up to the Door, and if possible let them be fairly seated in it before they are told how all this came about. Robert and I

¹ William Arbuthnot, afterwards the first Baronet, had married in 1800 Anne, daughter of Dr. John Alves of Shipland.

calculate the Expence of keeping a Carriage at about £200 a-year, of which £100 is to be paid annually by you as the Interest of the £2,000 you owe Robert, and you will draw for the like Sum on Messrs. Thomas Coutts and Co, on my acct. For the Purchase Money, being somewhere about £400, you will draw two Bills in equal Sums, of which a Letter of mine to Coutts Trotter will procure their favourable reception. I trust, my dear William, it is unnecessary for me to urge you to execute the above Commission exactly as here set down. Should my Mother, after she has got the Carriage (for she must positively not know of it beforehand), make any objections on the score of propriety, as I have sometimes heard her do, pray say to her that there can be no impropriety in her Sons having a Carriage if they can afford to keep it, and Robert and I prefer having ours at Edinburgh rather than in this Country. . . .”

On the same day that the above letter was written, George Arbuthnot also wrote to Lord Glenbervie as follows :

“ . . . You will receive by this ship (the Wellesley) several Letters from Mr. North and my Brother, not written, I fear, in good spirits. The misfortunes that have happened at Kandy have been cruel indeed and were enough to overpower stronger Nerves than those of our excellent Governour ; Robert, however, has been proof against every Shock, and I cannot say what a Blessing it has been that Mr. North had at that unhappy time so affectionate a Friend and firm a Man to support him. It is a great Consolation to think, under this disaster, that no blame whatsoever can be imputed to the Measures of Gov^t ; every precaution was taken that prudence and foresight could take, but no caution at Colombo could prevent Major Davie from taking the fatal step of giving up his Arms, at the time when he had a force sufficient on a pinch to have dispersed the whole Kandian Army. . . .”

Writing to Coutts Trotter on the 7th September, he refers to his move from Ceylon to Madras as follows :

“ . . . Without forgetting the Comforts of my Situation in Ceylon, and in truth they were great, I have never once

repented of the change. There is in my present place, as you justly observe, a certain degree of Risk, and consequently of anxiety,—but what Situation is free from that? I would sooner submit to the anxiety of a Commercial Risk, where 10,000 Pagodas were involved, than to the feeling of a *General Dispatch* not being understood by those to whom it is addressed, and the risk of *wigs* coming out instead of Compliments,—that is the Devil! . . .”

To his brother William he wrote on the 10th September :

“ . . . I am sorry, my dear William, you have taken it into your Head that I am likely to become very rich, and I am afraid some of my foolish Letters, written in high spirits and seeing everything fair before me, without making due allowance for Disappointments, Losses, &c., &c., &c., may have tended to give you that impression; I certainly have the prospect of Competency, but to become Master of a large Fortune would require a much longer Residence in India than I have at present thoughts of making. Do not, therefore, my good Fellow, entertain such an Idea respecting me, and far less let anyone else do so. . . .”

It appears that shortly after this Mr. North decided to appoint George Arbuthnot Agent at Madras for the Ceylon Government, for we find the latter writing as follows to his brother Robert on the 9th October :

“ . . . Your Letter of the 23rd informs me of the Governour having appointed me Agent to the Government, for which I am much obliged to him,—not that this accession of Dignitas can add one bit to the anxious Interest and hearty Zeal which I feel for all your Concerns.

“ It is impossible for me to charge any Agency in my individual Capacity, being bound to take in hand no business in the Profits of which my Partners shall not participate, and indeed, if no such Article existed in our Agreement, I should not like to have my Interest in any respect separate from that of my worthy Partners, whose delicacy, liberality and kindness to me can, I assure you, hardly be equalled.

“ I shall with pleasure act as the Agent of your Government in any Negotiation or Business with that of Madras, but

that must be a Service merely of honour ; on all Commissions which may be executed on your behalf, a Charge will be made by this House proportionate to the trouble we may have and to general Usage ; for instance, we shall charge you 5 p^t Cent. on the Bullock and Cooly Business, which, considering the plague and turmoil which it gives me, is not unreasonable.

" Pray mention all this to His Excellency with my best respects. . . . "

Of this appointment he wrote to his mother the following month :

" . . . I have been appointed Agent to the Ceylon Gov^t at this Presidency, which, while not an office of any profit, is very creditable and gives me a hold in the Settlement equal to Company's Indentures. . . . "

On the 30th August Lord William Bentinck had arrived in Madras, to replace Lord Clive as Governor. Some impressions of the new Governor and his wife are contained in a letter addressed to Mr. North, dated Fort St. George, 8th November, 1803 :

" . . . I am beginning, I think, to get a little into favour with the new tenants at the Government House.—I will tell you what makes me be of that opinion. The other day, I wanted to see Lord William, to speak to him about buying our houses in the Fort ; when I went to his Office, and had written my name on the Slate, I recollected that I had come on a wrong day, and, desiring my name to be rubbed out, I came away. Yesterday, Lord William sent for me and said that he had heard of my calling and going away without seeing him because it was not his Audience Day, now, says his Lordship, I desire you will never hesitate to come to me on any day or at any hour, as I shall always be happy to see you.

" He then took up your letter, which he had just received, and began a long discourse on Ceylon, asking many questions About your Official Regulations, and really some of them much to the Purpose.—I afterwards dined at Lord William's with a small party . . . Lady William had the toothache and did not appear till after Dinner, when she came in her night-cap ;

she is not pretty, but has such a look of goodness, and shews so great a desire to please, that it is impossible not to like her,—she has a little twang of the Brogue,¹ but not so as to be in the least offensive. . . .

“ My dear Sir, pray excuse this long, twaddling Account of the Royal Family of Madras. I have given it to you for want of other matter.”

To a cousin, Miss Eleanor Urquhart, he wrote on 22nd March, 1804 :

“ . . . I thank you heartily for your kind congratulations on my change of Situation from a Servant of Government in Ceylon to a share in a Mercantile House at Madras. As to your Idea, my dear Cousin, of this Change making me soon a rich Man, I am afraid it is not likely to be realized,—certainly it will not be so till the French Gov^t becomes quiet and allows us to return to a state of Peace ; but although I am not in the way of making a rapid Fortune, I am sure of a decent Independence, and, I would fain hope, too, of returning Home before I am too old to enjoy the Society of my friends,—according to your very friendly wish. . . .

“ The Society at Madras has made a great acquisition in the Family of our new Governor, Lord William Bentinck ; altho’ under thirty, there is a maturity of Understanding and Steadiness of Application to Business, which are quite admirable. He is civil and even kind to everyone, sees and hears everything himself and at the same time with excellent Sense avoids shewing Partialities. The Company have not had such a Governour since the days of Lord Macartney. . . .”

Two months later the news of his father’s death reached him. He writes to his mother on the 4th May :

“ MY DEAREST MOTHER,

“ The Newspapers which arrived from England overland the day before yesterday brought me information of the Death of my dear and Honoured Father, an event which, though not altogether unprepared for, I could not hear of

¹ Lord William Bentinck had married, the preceding February, the Hon. Mary Acheson, daughter of Arthur, second Viscount (afterwards first Earl of) Gosford.

without a shock to my Feelings which every break in the Chain of our Life must occasion.—But far from repining at this Dispensation of Providence, I am thankful to God for having spared my Father to a reasonable old age, and till he had the comfort of knowing that his family were respectably and comfortably settled in the world.

“An event of this kind brings the Image of the Person strongly to the Mind of those at a distance, and it has been with a feeling of very tender affection that I have traced back my Infant years, spent under my Father’s eyes and almost in his arms. Now that God has taken him from us, His Children must cling the closer to the Parent that remains to us, and our first care and solicitude must be to make you happy and comfortable, my Dearest Mother.

“In pecuniary matters, I imagine you are as easy as you desire; if it be not so, you know that whatever I have, or can earn, is at your Command, and I can safely say the same on Robert’s behalf, for strong and warm is his attachment to you. . . .

“I cannot express how great a consolation it is to my Mind to know that you have with you that worthy and affectionate Member of our Family, William, for the first feeling I had upon hearing the melancholy news was ‘My Father dead, and I so far away from my Mother!’ I trust I shall hear very particularly what arrangements are made in the Family, where you reside, whether you have Bess’ Children¹ with you, and whether you are provided with every convenience and comfort you can desire. . . .”

To his brother Robert he wrote on the 12th June :

“ . . . I have read my Mother’s Letters to you of the 20th Jan. with very great pleasure, for it is most gratifying to see that our Father, in the midst of all his Sufferings, was made occasionally happy and comfortable by thinking of us.—I give up my legacy from our aunt Wilson² with the greatest Willingness.—But I am sorry to see them taking it into their Heads at Edinburgh that I am already a Man of Fortune,

¹ The children of his sister, Lady Hunter.

² His aunt, Barbara Arbuthnot, had married Dr. David Wilson of Peterhead, and must have died about this time.

whereas I declare to you that, owing to this war, I do not believe I am worth a thousand pounds. . . ."

A week later he wrote to his brother :

" . . . I am glad to hear your Birth Day Ball went off so well, I am told that Lady William's was quite the contrary, thin and dull ; there is some Schism among the Ladies of Madras, for a great number of them, and some of the prettiest, staid away from the Ball, without any other reason than the heat, and the same ladies went and danced at the Rooms three nights after, when it was still more oppressive. . . ."

The conviction of his relatives in Scotland that he was already in possession of a large fortune seems to have disturbed George Arbuthnot a good deal. On the 10th August, 1804, he writes to his mother :

" . . . I am anxious that you should not be carried away with the common Notion that because I am in the House of Lautour I should make money by enchantment !—However, I am far from insensible to the advantages of my Situation, and know that I can never be sufficiently thankful to God for placing me in it, and grateful to those friends who were instrumental in procuring it for me. . . ."

In a letter to his sister Jane, dated the 9th October, after speaking of his brother Robert's prospects, he writes :

" With regard to poor I, things are but so-so ; I am labouring like a horse from morning till night, am supposed to be gaining mints of money, and probably looked upon as a saving old Creature, when in fact my gains do little more than pay the interest of my Debt* and bear my Expences ! My means are so much mistaken, that I believe there are few Mothers in the place who would not be glad to see me make up to their Daughters, and if I did so to anyone, the Miss would expect a settlement of at least twenty thousand Pagodas ! . . . Never, my dear Jane, omit any matter from a fear of what you say having been told me by someone else. In Books, you know how agreeable it is to read an account of the same subject

* This was his debt to M. Lautour, who, on his joining the firm in 1803 had lent him £10,000, which he put into the business as his share of its capital.

or period of time by different authors. Well, it is the same in letters, and although I am fond of both History and Politicks, I would not forego your little domestic annals for all that Mr. Hume has written or Mr. Pitt has spoken. From the period of life at which I came to this Country, my Impressions were all taken and fixed, everything of Home is fresh in my Memory, and the Interest I take in all Matters of a Family or even a Neighbourly Nature, is as strong and warm as if I had just left you. . . . Along with your Letter of the 7th March, I received one from Bess, dated at Madrid in Feb^r, which I intend to answer by this opportunity ; poor Bess, what a strange, wandering sort of life she has had for the last Ten Years. She is a noble Creature, and seems endowed with a great portion of my dear Mother's fortitude. . . ."

During the years that followed George Arbuthnot remained at Madras, and the firm of Lautour and Co. grew and prospered. In the course of time the youngest partner found himself at the head of the business and in possession of the large fortune his family had early anticipated. The style of the firm was altered to that of "Arbuthnot and Co.," and this was the genesis of the great and long-honoured banking house of that name, which, during the course of over a hundred years, enjoyed an unexampled supremacy in the Presidency, and came to such a disastrous end in 1906, long after the control of the business had passed from the hands of Mr. Arbuthnot's direct descendants. We have no letters of George Arbuthnot's between 1804 and 1812. In the interval he had married Eliza Fraser, daughter of Donald Fraser, solicitor of Inverness. She came out to Madras in 1807, apparently on a visit to her uncle, Dr. William Ord, who was a surgeon in the East India Company's service. The wedding took place at St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, 26th April, 1810, the bride being given away by Dr. Ord.

Their eldest child, a daughter, was born on the 29th April, 1812, and christened Mary. Writing to his mother-in-law, Mrs. MacLeod,¹ on the 27th June, 1812, George Arbuthnot refers as follows to the event :

¹ Eliza Fraser's mother, *née* Mary Ord (daughter of Richard Ord of the Merkinch, Inverness), was at this time married to her second husband, Captain MacLeod. Her first husband, Donald Fraser, had died in 1798.

“ . . . My Eliza has already informed you of the Birth of your Grand Daughter and Namesake, on which subject I have only to add that this Child is a material addition to the happiness with which it had pleased God already to bless me, and she is, as you may suppose, a continual source of interest and occupation to her dear young mother. . . .”

To Coutts Trotter he wrote on the 10th November :

“ . . . Talking of female accomplishments brings it to my mind to mention to you a young Lady who, I hope, will in due time possess a fair and moderate portion of them,—this is Miss Mary Arbuthnot, a Damsel who has now attained the age of six months and is allowed by her Father, Mother and other *impartial* observers to give promise of an intelligent Countenance and an enlightened mind. . . .”

From George Arbuthnot's letters, it appears that he was very anxious to bring his little daughter to England before she was four years old, and accordingly we find that he and his family were at home in 1816, in which year his twin daughters were born in his mother's house, 47, Queen Street, Edinburgh. He appears not to have returned to Madras for several years. Writing to Mr. William Mactaggart, then in Madras, from Edinburgh, May 26 and 27, 1818, he refers to his mother's death, which had taken place on the 14th of that month. He speaks of having passed a week with her a short time before, “and when I left her she had the intention of soon following me to London, accompanied by my sister and three of my children, who had been under her care. But God ordered it otherwise, for in three weeks from my departure my Brother wrote me that our dear Mother was unwell,—so seriously unwell that he apprehended the worst!—I got into the Mail Coach the same evening and came here in three days, but came too late. My Mother had breathed her last. I had the consolation of learning from those who were about her that her death was a most happy one. She had no pain or suffering of any kind, and expired like an Infant going to sleep,—the happy end of a well spent life. . . .”

In 1819 George Arbuthnot purchased a 55 years' lease of a house in Upper Wimpole Street, No. 14, where several of his children were born. In 1820 he and his wife were again

in Madras, Lady Hunter being left in charge of their children in England, and in 1823 Mr. Arbuthnot retired from business, and came home for good to England. The firm of Arbuthnot and Co. was then a flourishing and prosperous concern, and among Mr. Arbuthnot's papers¹ has been found the copy of a farewell letter addressed by him to his partners in 1823, among whom at that time were his brother-in-law, Mr. John Fraser, and Major Patrick Vans Agnew, who had married Catherine Fraser, sister of Mrs. George Arbuthnot. The letter, after touching on various matters of business, proceeds as follows :

"In conclusion, I have only to recommend that you, my dear Friends, will strive to preserve and increase the reputation of our House, and keep alive its integrity, its prudence, its liberality.—Be kind, though strict, to our Clerks and Servants, and be lenient to those, particularly those of long standing, if they endeavour to do well, tho' they may not be so clever as their Neighbours; but it is no hardship to give punctual attendance, and on that you should insist.—Keep down in your bosoms all bad passions, be just in your dealings, let your Senior always take the lead, and then pull together :—and may God's Providence guide your undertaking. Adieu.
GEORGE ARBUTHNOT."

In 1824 Mr. Arbuthnot purchased his Surrey property, Elderslie, in the parish of Ockley; he refers to it as follows in his diary :

"*March 30th*, 1824.—Saw Elderslie Lodge for the first time.

"*April 13th*.—Agnew to make the purchase for £9,000 and to be put in possession without further Expence as p. my letter to Captain Sykes of that date.

"*May 9th*.—Visited Captain and Mrs. Sykes at Elderslie with my nephew George.

"*May 25th*.—Completed the purchase and paid the price at Messrs. Farrers and Co.

"*May 26th*.—Came down alone and took possession of Elderslie Lodge.

"*May 31st*.—Sent down four of the children with Miss Scott and Margaret Millar. . . .

¹ In my husband's possession.

" June 5th.—Came down with E. A.¹ Mary and little Kate and settled ourselves. . . ."

Writing to his nephew, Robert Hunter, on the 19th May, he refers to Elderslie as follows :

" . . . I believe I mentioned in some of my previous Letters having made the purchase of a little place in Surrey called Elderslie Lodge,—a cottage on a commodious scale, all furnished and stocked ; with 60 acres of land, garden &c., a freehold, for which I gave Captain Sykes of the R. A. £9,000.

The diary runs on over a course of years, chronicling the simple, uneventful episodes of a country gentleman's life. The state of the weather is noted every day, and small events carefully and methodically recorded, as that the gardener was clearing away some "good-for-nothing-trees," or the man had come over from Dorking to tune the "pianoforte."

"In this comparative retirement," writes Sir Charles Lawson,² "with the diversion of occasional visits among friends in the North, and some Continental journeyings in France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, accompanied by members of his family, Mr. Arbuthnot passed the remaining two decades of his life. It was not in his nature to wish 'the applause of list'ning senates to command,' and he therefore declined invitations to stand for Parliament. He took, however, a keen interest in political matters, and was a good, but by no means a narrow-minded Conservative. He held the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, as statesmen, in special regard. One way and another he afforded an admirable example of the best type of British merchants of his day. He possessed the 'pen of the ready writer' ; he wrote an excellent 'hand' : and he did not mind trouble when conducting a large correspondence with business or private friends at home or abroad. He was an early riser, and a great economiser of time, while his habits were well calculated to maintain the vigour of his mind and body. He was a Justice of the Peace of a conscientious type ; and, among other things, he was

¹ His wife, née Eliza Fraser.

² *Memories of Madras*, p. 275, London, 1905, Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., now George Allen and Unwin, Limited.

a Director of the Palladium Life and Fire Insurance Company (now absorbed in the North British and Mercantile Insurance Company) ; and an original member of the Oriental Club."

On 4th December, 1826 (his birthday), Mr. Arbuthnot writes as follows in his diary : " This year I complete my 54th year, having been born at Edinburgh, 1772, at a time when my family was under the pressure of great difficulties. My father, who was a Banker under the Firm of Arbuthnot and Guthrie, having been involved in the misfortunes of those times and obliged to stop payment.—But this great misfortune did not hurt his character, as appears by the number of great and good men who continued to associate with him and to give him their support. My mother's conduct in those trying days I have heard spoken of as of the most exemplary description. She was a woman of such virtues and excellence and such good sense and judgment as few have equalled. How different is my situation this day from the situation of my harassed Parents at the time of my birth ! May God inspire me with their virtues, and may I do my duty to my family and neighbours as they did theirs. . . ."

The following is a little side-light on the despatch of county business, and the rather summary punishment meted out to offenders at that time. After relating that on 3rd April, 1827, he left town for Kingston at 8 a.m. to serve on the Grand Jury with twenty-two other gentlemen jurors and Mr. William Jolliffe as chairman, he mentions that he dined with the Jury at the Sun Hotel and went to bed at the Sheriff's Lodgings. The following day the entry is as follows :

" KINGSTON, *Wednesday, April 4th*, 1827.—Delightful weather,—quite a summer feel. Rose early and walked all round the town of Kingston,—particularly to see the Bridge over the Thames, now building. The Court opened at 9 a.m., from which hour I attended and heard the trial of Wm. Lassams for stealing a sheep from Mr. Walter Calvert, he was convicted and transported for life. The Grand Jury assembled at 10 a.m. and sat till near 5, when they were discharged, and I came to town and dined with Mr. Calvert in Dover St. . . .

"*Thursday, 26th April, 1827.*—The anniversary of our Marriage, 17 years ago, the happiest event in my Life, as it is with every Man who is blessed with the Hand and Heart of a virtuous, prudent and amiable Woman, and with a family of good, promising children. . . ."

In 1828 Mr. Arbuthnot was in Dieppe, where the manners of the bathing population seem to have surprised him. He writes :

" . . . I saw the new Baths, Reading-room &c., also the Bathers in the Sea. Machines seem little in use here, and Ladies and Gentlemen were in the water in large groups at a short distance from each other. . . ."

In the same year Mr. Arbuthnot was in Rome, and went to see the Stuart tomb in St. Peter's. He writes as follows :

"*ROME, Tuesday, Dec. 30th, 1828.*—The weather sunny and pleasant. At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 10 a.m., I set off on foot for St. Peter's. . . . We saw the Graves of the three last of the royal line of Stuart, viz^t. James,—the son of James II,—who never ascended the throne, though he made a push for it in 1715, when my grandfather¹ fought for him, and that was the cause of his going to Spain, in the Navy of which country he made his fortune. This James used in my early days, when spoken of in Scotland to be distinguished by the name of the Chevalier.—Also the Tombs of his two sons, Charles Edward and Henry, Cardinal of York. All these are in their Epitaph described as Kings of Gr. Br., Fra. and Ireland, viz^t. Jacobus III, Carolus III and Henricus IX. . . ."

On the 18th September, 1829, Sir William Arbuthnot died very suddenly in Edinburgh. The news reached Elderslie on the 21st, being conveyed in a letter to George Arbuthnot from Captain Basil Hall, who had married his niece, Margaret Hunter, and was then in Edinburgh. Mr. Arbuthnot was much affected by the news of his only surviving brother's death. His family were all out walking when the letter reached him, and as they came in he had the task of breaking it to them, one by one. He writes that on his sister, Lady Hunter, "it had the most severe effect, and I was made anxious about herself."

¹ John Urquhart of Craigston.



William Reiersen Arbuthnot of Plaw Hatch, Sussex.

From a water-colour painting by F. Tolham in the possession of



Jane, Viscountess Gough, and her twin sister, Anne Arbuthnot.

From a water-colour painting in the possession of Viscount Gough.

He left at once for Edinburgh, reaching it on the 24th. He writes : “ . . . Arrived at the Post Office Edin^r at half past 3 o'clock, and found there Captain Macleod,¹ Adam Urquhart² and Basil Hall,—also Smith of the Trustees Office, who took charge of my things. I walked to Charlotte Square with B.H. and A.U., and was met at the door by my nephews Ed^d. and Henry,³ and immediately afterwards went upstairs to the Bed Room of my poor widowed Sister-in-Law, who I found, as I expected, in an agony of grief ; it was a most distressing interview, but I did not leave her till she had gained some degree of composure. . . .

“ FRIDAY, *Sept. 25th*— . . . Soon after 2 o'clock, the funeral took place. . . . The service was read in St. John's Chapel, by the venerable Bishop Sandford, and the last part of it at the Grave, by Mr. Ramsay. We laid the Remains of my dear Brother in the Vault of his Family, near the Grave of our Mother. I could not help experiencing some painful sensations when the Grave was filled up, the soil thrown in being chiefly stones, some of them large, which rebounded ag^t the coffin. After our return from this last solemn ceremony, I visited my Sister-in-Law, and found her dressed in her widow's weeds.—After a burst of tears, she was composed, and I spoke to her of the necessary proceedings which must take place in the affairs of the Dead, for the sake of the Living, &c.”

“ EDIN^r, *Monday, Sept^t 28th, 1829.*—Gusty morning, with occasional showers and cold. Employed early, looking over some old Journals of my Brother Robert. The earliest I found was his Journey to France in 1784, after his return from the Siege of Gibraltar, and when about 23 Years of age. He was then a Lieutenant on half pay, and his income was 2/4 per diem ! The last of these Journals is Dated in July, 1808, after his return from Ceylon, a man of handsome fortune, to the bulk of which my Brother William succeeded in that very year when Robert was lost at Sea between Cadiz and

¹ The second husband of his mother-in-law, Mrs. Donald Fraser.

² This was a first cousin of Mr. Arbuthnot's, being a younger son of his uncle, William Urquhart of Craigston.

³ James Edward Arbuthnot and Henry Dundas Arbuthnot, sixth and seventh sons of Sir William Arbuthnot.

Gibraltar, on board of the 'Viper,' Sloop of War. . . . We went to Mr. Thomson, the Painter in Northumberland Street, and looked at the unfinished Miniature of my Brother, intended for his son Archy, which struck me as being a most unfavourable likeness, and not giving in the least the Expression of his Countenance. Basil Hall has been proposing to me to have a Bust made from a Mask taken by him after Death, and from this Miniature, but after seeing the Miniature I should not wish to propose such a thing to L^y A. My own picture of my Brother,¹ by Colvin Smith, I always liked, tho' it was not much approved of here in Edin^r, and now I consider it as a very precious Relick. . . .

" *Tuesday, Sept. 29th, 1829.*— . . . When in the old Town, went into the Royal Exchange and up the Stair of the old House in the Corner, where my early days were passed. . . .

" *Monday, Oct. 12th.*— . . . Captain MacLeod called, and he accompanied me to the Studio of Mr. Angus Fletcher in Fetter Row, for the purpose of speaking to him about making a Bust of my late Brother, from the Mask taken after Death and from the Portrait by Colvin Smith in my possession, which I intend to trust to my Sister, but Mr. F. was not at home. . . ."

Want of space obliges us to omit many passages of Mr. Arbuthnot's diary, which would doubtless have had much interest for his descendants.

Mr. Arbuthnot was resident at Elderslie during the troublous times preceding the passing of the Reform Bill. His diary contains many allusions to the agitations with which Surrey, in common with all the counties of England, was then convulsed. It is literally the case that the country was faced at that time with the problem of a starving population, as must be evident to anyone who takes the trouble to read the petitions sent up to Parliament from every county in England during the course of the year 1830.² To the working classes the success or ill-success of the

¹ There is a portrait of Sir William Arbuthnot at Warthill, and a duplicate one is in the possession of Sir Dalrymple Arbuthnot. Presumably the Warthill one is the original, and is the one referred to here.

² A number of these have been summarized by the Rev. W. N. Molesworth in his *Reform Bill of 1832*, pp. 78-93.

proposed Reform Measures appeared to be a question of bread or no bread, and in their distress and despair the people committed many violent acts as fatal to their own interests as to those of the landed classes they regarded as their enemies. No more suicidal method could have been chosen by them than the systematic burning of stacks of hay and corn, which soon became a feature of their demonstrations. "Through twenty-six counties," writes Mr. Molesworth,¹ "night after night, the sky was redened with the blaze of the nation's food going up in flame and smoke." There were many disturbing occurrences in Surrey. Hay-ricks were burnt, landowners received threatening letters, while angry processions of labourers marched through the villages, terrorizing the law-abiding inhabitants. On 19th November, 1830, Mr. Arbuthnot mentions a party of rioters who passed through Ockley on their way to Wotton Rectory, presumably to smash the windows or do other damage there.* The next day, things were regarded as so serious that a meeting of magistrates, of whom Mr. Arbuthnot was one, decided to write to London to request that a military force should be sent down. Fifteen special constables were sworn in, and a night watch was set in Ockley.

Some troops were promptly sent down to Dorking, but in spite of their presence some disorders took place there on the 22nd November.³

Nearly a year later, in October 1831, the Lords threw out the Reform Bill, upon which popular indignation reached a climax. Well might Mr. Arbuthnot write: "This will make a great sensation throughout the Kingdom, and it is to be feared there may be tumult."

In the following May, the King having reluctantly given his consent to a creation of peers for the purpose of passing

¹ *Reform Bill*, p. 77.

² The Rector of Wotton at that time was the Hon. and Rev. John Evelyn Boscawen, whose son, Evelyn, afterwards succeeded an uncle as sixth Viscount Falmouth. Many of the clergy shared the unpopularity of the landed proprietors during those troubled times, and Mr. Boscawen's tithes were the subject of complaint at a large meeting held at Woking a few days later (November 25th). Information kindly communicated by Mr. H. E. Malden, editor of the *Victoria History of the County of Surrey*.

³ See account of these proceedings in the *Diary*, Appendix VI, pp. 471-5.

the Bill, the House of Lords bowed to the inevitable, and the great change which brought a truly representative Parliament into being was effected after a struggle of incredible bitterness, and scenes of violence unprecedented in the modern history of our country.¹

On 16th June, 1831, Mr. Arbuthnot describes a garden party given at Holly Lodge by the Duchess of St. Albans.² He writes: "Met there several old acquaintances. Mrs. Hutchinson, formerly Mrs. Frederick Douglas, who introduced me to her husband, Colonel Hely-Hutchinson; H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex; Lady Charlotte Lindsay; Lady Eleanor Campbell; Mr. Greenwood; Colonel and Mrs. Hughes; Mr. and Mrs. Smith Windham. Many entertainments were provided for the occasion. A Military Band of Music. The Russian Horns.³ Michael Boai, the Chin-player,⁴ and his family. An Imitator of Birds and Beasts, a blind man, who gave us the sounds of a farm and poultry yard in perfection. Sir George Smart, Mad^e Stockhausen and several other good singers, who gave some fine Glee;—we were at Holly Lodge from 3 till 8 o'clock. There was a dinner consisting of everything good. In the Evening, a Milch Cow was brought to the door, and whoever liked had a Syllabub. In the Evening, the Trees were lighted up with variegated lamps, and then there was dancing, but as I was a little tired and feared the Gout, we came off and got home by 9 o'clock. . . ."

On Monday, 28th January, 1833, being in London, he writes: "This is the anniversary of the Birth of our dear and good little Boy, William Reiersen, seven years ago, and

¹ See further extracts from George Arbuthnot's Diaries, in Appendix VI, relating to the Reform Bill agitations and proceedings in Parliament.

² This was Harriot Mellon, the actress, who had been previously married to Thomas Coutts, founder of the firm of Coutts and Co. On his death in 1822 Mr. Coutts left his vast fortune to his widow absolutely, and five years later she married the ninth Duke of St. Albans. The Duchess, who died in 1837, very honourably returned the Coutts fortune to her first husband's family, her heiress being Angela Georgina Burdett, a grand-daughter of Thomas Coutts, and afterwards the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

³ The *Morning Post* account of the Duchess of St. Alban's party states that it "commenced with the performance of the celebrated Russian Horn Band, playing in the woods, the effect of which was beyond description delightful."—*Morning Post*, June 18, 1831.

⁴ This individual probably entertained the company by balancing balls, sticks, or other objects on his chin. The *Morning Post* describes him as the "Chin-performer."

it is the day of the birth of a Daughter at 20 minutes past one o'clock this morning. . . ."

On Monday, 4th March, 1833, Mr. Arbuthnot writes : " The anniversary of the birth of my excellent wife, who drew her first breath in the year 1792, at Inverness. She came to Madras in 1807, and, on the 26th of April, 1810, was united to me. She has given birth to 13 children, of whom eleven are now alive, the eldest near 21 years old, the youngest little more than a month."

Just at this time an interesting family event took place. This was the marriage of Mr. Arbuthnot's eldest daughter, Mary, to her first cousin, John Alves Arbuthnot, second son of Sir William Arbuthnot, first Baronet. This event took place at Marylebone Parish Church, 2nd June, 1832. Mr. Arbuthnot writes : " Mary behaved admirably, for, altho' a good deal agitated, she commanded her attention to the Ceremony and pronounced the Responses distinctly and firmly.—After the Ceremony and signing the Register, I conducted my Daughter to her Carriage, in which the Bridegroom went with her, and all the Company followed to our House, where we had a Breakfast, provided by Ingram. This lasted till 3 o'clock, when John and Mary set off for Silwood Lodge, Sunninghill, and the Company dispersed. Among the friends who attended the Ceremony, were Visc^t Arbuthnott, Lady A. and her 2 Daughters and Son Henry,¹ Mr. Alves and his nephew Duncan, my sister, Lady H.,² Mr. and Mrs. Guthrie, Sir John Fitzgerald and his daughter Charlotte, Lady Anstruther and her three daughters, . . . Mrs. Ord and the three Miss Agnews, Sir Coutts Trotter and Alexander, Sir John and Lady Buchan, . . . Col. Vans Agnew and his son Robert."

" DENBIES,⁴ *Tuesday, Dec' 4th*, 1832.—This day completes the period of Three Score Years of my Existence. I was born

¹ This was Eleanor Louisa, afterwards heroine of the extraordinary incident known as the " Arbuthnot Abduction Case."—See pp. 387-420.

² George Arbuthnot's sister-in-law, Lady Arbuthnot, widow of his eldest brother, and the bridegroom's mother, her two surviving daughters, Mary and Anne, and her son Henry Dundas Arbuthnot. ³ Lady Hunter.

⁴ Denbies, overlooking Dorking, at this time belonged to Mr. William Joseph Denison, M.P. for West Surrey, whose father, Joseph Denison, had bought it in 1787. After Mr. W. J. Denison's death in 1849, the estate was bought by Mr. Thomas Cubitt, whose grandson, the present Lord Ashcombe, Lord-Lieutenant of Surrey, now owns it.

in the Old Town of Edinburgh, the 4th Dec^r, 1772, the youngest of seven children, of whom only my Sister Bess and I remain in Life. At starting, my prospects were far from brilliant, yet I have met with good success, and am now in circumstances and in a station much beyond my deserts, or what I had any reason to expect. Above all, I am blessed with a virtuous and sensible wife, and with promising children. My first-born and much beloved Mary has united herself to a man of such sterling worth as is likely not only to be a happy lot to her, but to be a blessing to all connected with him. May God grant me grace duly to feel these mercies and amend my way of Life, as the age at which I have now arrived reminds me that Life draws towards a close. May my eldest Boy, my very dear George, who is just emerging from Infancy to Manhood, keep in the path of virtue and honour. May he always be able to govern his temper and his passions, and may he be happy! May his good conduct serve as an example to his Brothers, and may he be disposed to give them a helping hand in their prospects. . . ."

Two years later Mr. Arbuthnot had the great grief of losing his wife. She died in London, 29th September, 1834. Mr. Arbuthnot was in Paris with his son Coutts when he learnt of her illness. Hastening home, he reached Wimpole Street only to find that all was over. The shock was a terrible one, after their twenty-four years of happy married life. "My dear Sister, L^y H., came to me immediately," he writes, "it was she who had attended her in her last moments, and she bore testimony of her quiet and placid behaviour. . . . Thus I am left with ten children (I do not include my dear Mary) to train up and provide for. God has given me the means of provision, and oh, may He grant me grace and wisdom to perform my duty in this important charge in a befitting manner, so that these dear Children may be brought up in the nurture and fear of the Lord, in kindly feelings towards each other and their neighbours generally and in habits of activity and industry for their ordinary employments! This I am persuaded would have been the prayer of my Eliza, had she been the survivor."

The funeral of Mrs. George Arbuthnot took place at Ockley on the 9th October, 1834. Mr. Arbuthnot writes: "At

2 o'clock, the Service (which was read by our attached friend, Mr. Cook,* the Rector) was concluded, and all that remained in this world of my dearest Companion was deposited in the Vault prepared for her and for myself and other Members of my Family, when it shall please the Lord to take us hence. My dear Sister, who has on this sad occasion as on others, acted the part of a kind Mother to my Children, I have told that, if agreeable to her feelings, shall also lie there and sleep with my Eliza and me. . . ."

On 17th October Mr. Arbuthnot writes sadly: "Every morning I awake at a very early hour, long before the day lights, and then my thoughts are sad and melancholy, for I cannot help turning them to the altered circumstances in which alas! I now find myself. I have lost more than half myself,—she was my oracle,—she was the staff on which I leant. In these melancholy moments, I have recourse to prayer. I pray for resignation, I pray for strength of mind to bear up against despair and for fortitude to do my duty as becomes the Father of a Family; and I pray that my heart may be so far weaned from the world as not to be over anxious about my worldly concerns, and that I may have an easy mind and an entire reliance on the Wisdom and Goodness of God, let happen what will. These prayers and reflexions soothe and tranquillize my mind till 6 o'clock, when I leave my bed, and I awake my twins at 7. The Society of my Children and of my excellent Sister, with ordinary occupations connected with the House, employ me during the day and make the time pass chearfully enough. On the whole, I feel that my Situation is far happier than many a one who has been left a widower, that I ought to be thankful for the happy period of 24 years of my married life, blessed as I am in the knowledge that my Eliza considered herself a happy wife! God has seen fit in His Wisdom and Mercy to dissolve our Union, and take my Eliza first; but He has left me many Blessings, for which I ought to be humbly thankful in the meantime, yet ready to relinquish them if it should be His Holy Will to withdraw them,

* The Rev. John Cook, who had been Rector of Ockley since 1817.

† Lady Hunter predeceased her brother and, dying in 1841, was interred in the family vault at Ockley. There is a tablet to her memory on the south wall of the church.

and ready with cheerfulness to lay down my Life itself when the Lord shall call. . . .”

On 22nd October, 1835, he writes: “This day, in the year 1816, were born in Queen Street, Edin,^r my two dear Girls, the Twins! The event is present to my mind as if it had happened yesterday. How happy was my lot at that period! I had recently returned from India, accompanied by my beloved Wife and my eldest Children, Mary and George. My venerable Mother and excellent Sister Jane were alive, and my twins first saw the light in their Grandmother’s house,—a cheerful and a happy house it was! The glad tidings of the safety of my Eliza and the birth of her two Babes was conveyed to me at 7 in the morning by my good Mother-in-law, Mrs. Macleod, who came to my temporary lodgings in Frederick Street.”

Writing on 18th January, 1836, Mr. Arbuthnot describes a quarrel between his two boys, Coutts and John, as follows: “Last Saturday these two boys had a *fracas* when at their lesson in Arithmetic, which led to the discovery that Johnnie is passionate and in his heat might commit a rash action; on this occasion he threw at his brother a case of Mathematical Instruments, which might have hurt him much, but, fortunately, instead of Coutts’ head, it hit the schoolroom window and, going through, fell on the leads of Sir W. Y’s. yard. This propensity of Master Johnnie must be checked, and I began to do so by causing him in Mr. Russell’s presence to make an apology to his Brother. In defending his conduct to me, Johnnie said that Coutts took delight in tyrannizing over him and often maltreating him;—in reply to which, I reminded J. that C. was his Elder, and that however wrong he might be in such conduct, it was the Duty of the Younger to submit. . . .”

In September, 1836, Mr. Arbuthnot was in Scotland, and paid a visit to his brother-in-law, Mr. John Fraser, who was then living at Cromarty House. This visit was specially interesting to him, as the Cromarty property had formerly belonged to his maternal grandfather, Captain John Urquhart of Craigston and Cromarty, and had of course been familiar to his mother, Mary Urquhart, in her youth.

On Tuesday, 13th September, he writes: "At 9 a.m., we found ourselves established in Cromarty Ho., with my children's good Grandmother¹ and her husband, the worthy Captain, and my very dear Brother-in-law, now doing the honours of the Castle!—a variety of sensations came over my mind on this occasion. My former visit to the place in 1826, when accompanied by my best beloved upon Earth, and conducted by the same dear John Fraser, then a Youth, training up to business at Inverness, now, by the favour of Providence on his industry, a man of affluent fortune, of which he is making the most benevolent and generous use. In him, his good Mother in the first place, me and my Children in the next, and all in any degree connected with him, are truly blessed. After walking round the doors with J. F., and taking a look at the Site of the old Castle, ascertained by the Well, and at the ruins of the Chapel of St. Regulus with its Burying-ground, of which my dear Mother used to speak to me in my early days, as the scenes of her Youth,—for she resided here with her Father and Mother till she was about 10 years of age—we all sallied forth on a walk to the extremity of the Suitor,² or Western portal of the beautiful Bay; the distance is, I think, from one to two miles, and almost the whole of it is through a grove of lime trees,—the path, a carpet of the softest, greenest moss, with ever varying views of the opposite shores of Ross-shire and Moray. . . ."

"CROMARTY HOUSE, *Wednesday, September 14th, 1836.*—I rose soon after 5 o'clock. Took a second look at the burying-ground of St. Regulus. There is, close to the ruins of the Chapel or under some part of what was the Chapel, a Vault of considerable size, which I can imagine to have been the burying place of my Grandfather's family, but from the long absence of a Proprietor to guard the Relicks of the Dead, the spot had been spoiled and demolished by the Country people, and is now in a most delapidated and degraded state, but its position and the points of view from it are exceedingly fine. It forms quite

¹ Mrs. Donald Fraser, *née* Mary Ord, had married secondly Captain MacLeod. From her first marriage descends Mr. Robert Fraser-Mackenzie of Allangrange.

² The North and South Sutors are two picturesque and highly precipitous rocks guarding the entrance to the Cromarty Firth.

a pendant to the green platform on which the old Castle of Cromarty stood, and was no doubt the place of worship of Captain Urquhart and his family,—their place of worship while living and of sepulture when dead. I found in the burying ground at some distance from the Chapel a double Grave-stone richly carved and containing both inscriptions and emblematical devices. One inscription which I managed to copy was as follows: ‘Stones belonging to Samuel Urquhart, who departit the 15th February, 1700, and his spouse Agnes William-son, who departit the 2nd November, 1711.—S.U., A.W.’

In death no difference is made,
Betwixt the Sceptre and the Spade.

Then comes an engraving of these Emblems of the Highborn and the Humble, in the form of a St. Andrew’s Cross, and on the other Stone the following inscription forms the border:

The life of man’s a rolling stone,
Moved to and fro and quickly gone;
Think every day to be thy last,
And when night comes thy life is past.

From the workmanship of this Monument, it would seem that Sam^l Urquhart and his spouse must have been persons of birth and station. Perhaps he might be a brother of the Spanish Captain, for my Grandfather acquired his fortune, whatever it might be, by navigating a ship in the service of his Catholic Majesty. . . .

“CROMARTY, *Saturday, September 16th, 1836.*—Rose at 6, and at 8 walked out with J. F. and Anne. We took the direction of our Suitor, and, keeping to a pathway through the Woods, lower than when we last took the same tour, we reached a spot called the Green Point, a jutting knoll of the softest grass, close to the side of a great hollow in the hill, faced with rock and precipitously overhanging the Sea,—a most interesting spot, and the more interesting to me as I let my imagination have scope and, going back about 90 Years, I could see my Grandfather taking his walk here with my Mother, a girl of 7 years old, in his hand, who he was amusing by the relation of his adventures at Sea when sailing to the Philippines, or else instructing her in those lessons of piety which she,



Lady Lenox-Conyngham (*née* Arbuthnot), wife of Sir William Lenox-Conyngham
of Spring Hill, Moneymore.

venerated woman, put so much in practice in after life, and which she has often said to me she derived from the instruction and example of her worthy Father. . . ."

After this visit Mr. Arbuthnot went on to Strathpeffer, where, on the 22nd September, he notes that "The Season for the Waters is over and there remain only a few Stragglers. One of these is Lord Castlereagh, who inhabits Castle Leod, and has with him the Hon^{ble} Mr. Fitzroy." He refers to "Dr. Morison's house, now the property of John Gladstone, and for sale. . . . Fine portrait of Dr. Morison in the Pump Room, by an Edinburgh artist,—probably Raeburn. After breakfast, we set off in the carriage to see a little more of the Country, and a delightful round,—we directed our Course by the way of Coul and Contin, up Strathconon as far as the Fall of Rogie,¹ where we quitted our vehicle and the high road in order to get a better view of the Cascade, and this we attained by crossing the Conon by a rustic footpath bridge a little below the Fall. It is not high, but comes down in several Streams, very beautifully and with considerable force. The Country around this charming River Conon is one Grove of Birch trees, many of them of great size and of the weeping kind,—these form the foreground of the scene. Behind, at some miles distance, are Mountains, one of which was capped with Snow. After describing Craigdarroch, "a pretty-looking house, beautifully situated at foot of a finely wooded hill," he continues: "We made our return to Strathpeffer by Brahan Castle, where we called on the Hon^{ble} Mrs. Stewart-Mackenzie. She was not at home, but being invited by her very civil and well-mannered servant to enter and rest, we went in and looked at the house and the pictures, which last are interesting, and are mostly contained in a large Hall built since I was last here. The principal painting is a piece done by the late Benjamin West at the desire of Lord Seaforth, and represents the origin of the grant by King James VI (? Alexander III) of Scotland, of the Kabrafea or Stag's Head to the Clan of Mackenzie. The King, when taking the sport of the field and pursuing a deer of extraordinary size and strength, which had been

¹ The Falls of Rogie are actually on the Blackwater River, at some distance above its junction with the Conon.

brought to bay, had been too much for His Majesty,—had thrown him down and put him in danger of his life, when, by the courage and address of Kenneth Mackenzie, the ancestor of the Seaforth family, the King is saved and rewards the champion by a R^l Grant of lands and Honours.—There is a fine full-length portrait of the late Lord in the Uniform of the 78th Reg^t of Highlanders. One of his Daughter, the present Lady of the Castle, and one of her relation, the ‘Man of Feeling,’ as Mr. Henry Mackenzie was called. Both these, I should think, are the work of Raeburn. Further in the small drawing-room adjoining the hall a fine portrait of Cardinal Richelieu.—These are all I have time to mention here, but there are many other interesting features in Brahan Castle. . . .”

From Strathpeffer, Mr. Arbuthnot went on to Craigston Castle, Aberdeenshire, to pay a visit to his cousins, Mr. and Mrs. William Urquhart. Rising at 4 a.m., the party took their places in the “Defiance” coach,—Mr. Arbuthnot noting “the rapid driving, quite equal to Robert of Horsham,”—and breakfasted at Forres,—“such a breakfast! charged 1/9 a-head. Fish—Game—Mutton Chops—3 or 4 kinds of bread, Eggs, etc., and rich cream to our Tea.” They reached Craigston at 7 p.m., and were “kindly rec^d by Mr. and Mrs. Urquhart and their young Daughter, Mary Bell,¹ aged 10 years, a very sweet and clever little girl.

“CRAIGSTON, *Wednesday, September 28th, 1836.*—The weather, unfortunately for us, was thick and damp, so that there was little pleasure in going out of doors; but inside, the atmosphere one breathes is warm and comfortable, the interior arrangements being much altered and improved since I was last its visitor. The Library remains as it was, and I spent an hour or two in it, looking at the Spanish, Italian, French and English Books of my Grandfather and Uncle. Nothing appears to have been added by the two last proprietors.² . . .”

Mr. Arbuthnot went on to Aberdeen, where he visited Marischal College and also the house in which Lord Byron passed

¹ This was Mary Isabella Urquhart, heiress of Craigston, through whom the estate passed to the Pollard family.—See p. 292.

² These were John Urquhart of Craigston and his father, William Urquhart. The latter was the eldest son of Captain John Urquhart, and was therefore uncle to George Arbuthnot.

a few years in his youth. On 1st October, he writes : " We had the luck to fall in with a Gentleman who told us he had been opposite neighbour to Mr. and Mrs. Byron Gordon, and had been in the frequent habit of walking hand in hand with young George, who, if unaccompanied in the Street, kept his Mother in a fever of anxiety lest he should be rode over by horse or cart. . . . "

From Aberdeen Mr. Arbuthnot went on to Arbuthnott House, Kincardineshire, having written to propose a visit to Lord Arbuthnott. He describes crossing the Bridge of Dee in the rain, passing the Cemetery of Fetteresso and the ruins of Dunnottar, " where the rain poured heavily." They changed horses at Stonehaven and " came on 10 miles more to Arbuthnott House, in the Parish of Arbuthnott and County of Kincardine.—The rain continued to pour throughout the day, so that we had no inducement to stir out of doors. The Viscount was absent with his eldest son, at Mar Lodge. We were received by his Brother, General Hugh, by the Viscountess and . . . of her daughters and two sons, David and William, both schoolboys. Besides the immediate members of the family, there were two nieces of Lady Arbuthnott, the Lady Jane and the Lady Clementina Ogilvie, Daughters of the Earl of Airlie. Our reception by Lady A. was kind and hospitable, her manners affable yet dignified, her conversation sensible, plain and pleasant. At dinner we had, in addition to the above-named, Mr. Traill, the Tutor, so that we sat down to Table 12 persons. In the evening the Young People amused themselves at Chess, Drafts and Backgammon, and Miss Margaret, the eldest Daughter, played the piano, which she did very well. . . . "

" ARBUTHNOTT HOUSE, *Sunday, Oct. 2nd, 1836.*—The morning fair, and hopes of a change of weather with the new quarter of the moon, but the wind is from the S.W., and that prognosticates rain, which began, accordingly, between one and two o'clock, and continued the remainder of the day.—Walked to the Parish Church with the Viscountess and several of the Ladies, where Mr. Traill officiated in the place of the Parish Minister, whose health is infirm. . . . "

From Arbuthnott House Mr. Arbuthnot and his party went on to Fasque, to pay a visit to Mr. (afterwards Sir)

John Gladstone. On 3rd October, he writes : After breakfast took leave of the Viscountess, the General &c., and started for Fasque, passing through Laurencekirk and Fettercairn. The distance from one House to the other,—12 miles. This is an estate purchased a few years ago by Mr. Gladstone from Sir Alex^r Ramsay and is a fine property of 6,000 acres, half arable, half hill and moorland, with a great deal of fine old Timber, chiefly Beeches and some magnificent spruce firs and larches. Near the door of the house, there is a Holly tree, the largest I ever saw, and which must be of great age. The House is quite a Palace, and fitted up in the most beautiful and costly manner. The Entrance Hall and Double circular stair, leading to the Drawingrooms, Library and Conservatory, are finely formed and display an admirable taste,—which Miss Gladstone told me was that of Lady Ramsay. The rooms are all of great dimensions and their number considerable. The building is said to have cost £30,000. . . . We found Mr. G. and his Daughter Helen, she performing in a most becoming manner the office of Mistress of the Mansion, in the absence of her worthy Mother who is gone to her rest.” Mr. Arbuthnot mentions : “ The four sons of Mr. G., Thomas and his Lady, Robertson and his Lady, John (a L^t in R.N.) and William Ewart, M.P. for Newark and some time ago Under Secretary of State. . . .” After enumerating some of the house-party, Mr. Arbuthnot states that there were also present at dinner “ Three of the Young Ladies we had left at Arbuthnott, Lady Jane and Lady Clementina Ogilvie and the Hon^{ble} Miss Clementina Arbuthnott, in all 16. Mr. Robertson and Mr. William Gladstone being unwell, did not make their appearance till after dinner. . . .”

“ FASQUE, Tuesday, Oct. 4th.—Mr. Gladstone and family took us an excursion to the Burn, about 5 miles off. The North Esk is at this place a Mountain Stream, rushing through among the Rocks and, being full of water, was extremely fine.” Speaking of his host, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Arbuthnot writes : “ As he took me in his one horse chaise, I was tête-à-

* Mr. Gladstone had represented Newark since 1832, having been returned as a Conservative to the first Parliament elected after the passing of the Reform Bill. He had been appointed by Sir Robert Peel Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies the year previous to Mr. Arbuthnot's visit, but was out of office at this time, Peel's ministry having been succeeded by Lord Melbourne's in April, 1835.

l'été with him most of the time and had thus a fine opportunity of listening to his conversation, which I found highly instructive and interesting ;—his age is 72, he has the infirmities of defective sight and defective hearing ; nevertheless, he is about the most energetic man in body and mind that I have ever met with.—He has been the maker of his own fortune, and there is every reason to believe it is colossal. He has a strong and most clear memory and a mind most expansive. His views in politics are quite Conservative, but not bigotedly so. He was on terms of friendship with Canning and Huskisson, and one of his most intimate and esteemed friends now in life is Kirkman Finlay. Portraits of all the three and also of the late Mr. William Ewart of Liverpool are in the dining-room here. Of Mr. Gladstone himself and of his late excellent wife, there are portraits in the same apartment, and in the Library there is a marble bust of him by Macdonald, a strong resemblance and a pleasing one, which is not the case with the picture by Graham.”

After a visit to Anniston in Forfarshire Mr. Arbuthnot proceeded southwards by slow stages and reached Elderslie towards the end of October.

In the course of the following year, 1837, he refers many times to the extreme delicacy of his daughter, Catherine, who had “very much outgrown her strength.” The doctor had ordered a nourishing diet, but on 16th June, Mr. Arbuthnot notes that “She does not mend, and I have sometimes anxious feelings about the dear, sweet Girl.”

On 20th June, 1837, Mr. Arbuthnot writes : “The Morning Newspapers announced the death of the King, which took place at Windsor at 2 a.m. William IV was aged 72 Y^{rs} and 10 M^s and had reigned 7 Years. He is succeeded by his Niece Victoria, Daughter of the late Duke of Kent, and who attained her age of Majority or 18 Years on the 24th of last Month, so that she is now called upon to reign with all the powers which the Law can grant.

“*Wednesday, 21st.*—This day at Noon the Princess Victoria was proclaimed Queen in the usual form, and, being waited on at Kensington by the Archbishop of Canterbury and all the Officers of the Crown, with Privy Councillors and many

others, Her Youthful Majesty made them a speech and conducted herself in a manner which excited general admiration."

Later entries in this and the following month contain frequent references to the ill-health of his daughter Catherine. She was taken to see Sir James Clark, whose waiting-room was so crowded that the child waited four hours in vain one morning and had to be brought away without seeing him. The following day he saw her, and at once diagnosed the case as critical. He directed that she should be taken down to Elderslie in the care of a nurse who had attended her from infancy, and placed in charge of the Dorking doctor. From this time, "Cassy," as her father calls her, seems to have gradually weakened. On the 12th of July, her despairing father, before starting for London, went to say good-bye to her, and records that she "looked me in the face with her sweet smile, but did not speak." On 14th July, having returned to Elderslie, he writes: "My poor Cassy has passed a restless, feverish night, her respiration short and difficult, and she appears to be gradually losing the little strength left her. My hope of her recovery grows fainter day by day, but she is in God's hands, who knows best what is good for her and for all of us. If it be the Will of the Almighty to take my Child, I beseech Him to be merciful to her and to grant to me Resignation to his Holy Will. I am most ardently attached to this Child, for her disposition is of the most delightful description; let me therefore consider, Oh Lord, that she is the better fitted for the Change, should it be Thy resolve to take her hence!—but if it be Thy gracious Will to spare her to me and to my family, Oh, may she so grow in grace and in Thy Service, Oh Lord, as to become an instrument of good to others. . . ."

On 11th August he writes: "This morning I walked out early with my Twins, when we had much conversation about the dear Invalid who occupies our thoughts at present, and I endeavoured to prepare these affectionate Sisters for that termination of this Malady which I cannot help fearing is too probable. I desired them to put their trust in God, and at the same time keep up their spirits, so as to enable them

to be useful to their suffering Sister. . . ." On the 14th he writes that " she seems to be gradually losing the little strength left her."

On 16th August, after a brief absence at Portsmouth, he writes that he " found the sweet child considerably changed in appearance, though in perfect possession of her senses, and it was very touching indeed the manner in which she expressed her pleasure at our return. When I asked her if she would like me to stay with her to-morrow, instead of going to town as I had intended, she answered in a most impressive manner ' Oh yes, Papa, do stay with me.' "

On Monday, 21st August, he writes: " I have, ever since my return from Portsmouth, visited my Cassy twice during the night, when, at whatever hour it might be, I have always found her awake and generally panting or moaning in a way that went to my heart. Then I would ask her if she felt pain, and in what part; when she would answer in her soft, quiet and chearful voice: ' No, Papa, not much pain, only a little tired ' ; or ' only a little difficulty in breathing.' To her good nurse she would often say ' Oh Mag, you take too much trouble. I wish you would take some rest.' "

The following day, Tuesday, 22nd August, he writes: " It was Anne's turn to watch in the sick room along with Mrs. Millar. At half past three o'clock my Daughter came to my room and awoke me, saying ' Cassy was worse.'—In two minutes I was near her. I found her on the couch bed and Margaret standing by her side, with her arm round her neck: her first salutation to me was ' Oh, sir, the spirit is fled, she's gone to her Saviour.' The blessed Child had, about a quarter of an hour before, shown an inclination to sleep, and Margaret, happy to see her get some rest, sat by her side, still and motionless, but after a time put her hand to her wrist,—the pulse was gone and with it the vital spark!—Thus died this dear, dear Girl, aged 13 Y^{rs} 4 M^s and 4 days, having entered life on Easter Sunday the 18 April, 1824, in Upper Wimpole Street. . . . Never, I believe, did greater attachment exist between Nurse and Child than that which has this day been severed by the hand of Death. Never was there a human being more fitted for the change than this sweet, humble Girl. Oh blessed Lord, my hope and my conviction is that her Soul is with Thee!"

On 9th March, 1838, Mr. Arbuthnot records the death of Miss Scott, "our excellent friend," who had been for nearly twenty years resident in his family as governess to his daughters. The name of Jane Scott will always be gratefully remembered in the parish of Ockley, for she bequeathed the savings of her lifetime for the sinking of a well on the village green, "having frequently regretted the inconvenience the poorer inhabitants of the parish of Ockley in the county of Surrey have suffered from the want of a proper supply of water in dry seasons." Miss Scott directed that a sum of £400 should be spent on the well, her executors being George Arbuthnot of Elderslie, his son George, and his son-in-law and nephew, John Alves Arbuthnot. A further sum was left for the purpose of erecting "a school house in the said parish of Ockley, should one not be built in my lifetime, for the use of the children of the poor inhabitants of the said parish, and affording them gratuitous instruction therein." Both the well and the school house are now features of Ockley parish. Over the entrance to the latter is inscribed: "Jane Scott, 1841," and above it are the initials V.R., encircled by the Garter. Mr. Arbuthnot mentions the well in his diary, 16th July, 1839, when he states that its depth was 60 feet and the depth of water 42 feet.

The Diary was regularly kept up to Saturday, 22nd December, 1838. After that it breaks off abruptly, though a further entry is added on 13th July, 1839, when Mr. Arbuthnot excuses the lapse from his usual methodical habit of entering the events of each day, which arises from his having been "much occupied with other matters during the winter and spring, frequently unwell and, probably the truest cause of all, from laziness,—the absence of that spirit of energy and industry with which Providence had favoured me in my early days."

Mr. Arbuthnot died on the 3rd November, 1843, in his 71st year. He was buried in the family vault at Ockley, built by himself, which had already received the remains of his wife, his dearly-loved daughter Catherine, and his sister, Lady Hunter.

He had married, at St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, 26th April, 1810, Eliza, eldest daughter of Donald Fraser,

Writer in Inverness, and by her (who died 29th September, 1834, and was buried at Ockley) he had issue—

- I. Robert, born at Madras 11th July, 1813, died 24th October, 1814. Buried in St. Mary's Burial-ground, Madras.
- II. George, second of Elderslie, born at Madras 24th April, 1815, of whom presently.
- III. Coutts Trotter, I.C.S., born at 14 Upper Wimpole Street 24th April, 1818, died 24th July, 1899, unmarried. Buried at Kensal Green.
- IV. John de Monte, born at Madras 27th April, 1822, married (29th January, 1853) Elizabeth Esther Jane, daughter of Sir William Murray, 9th Baronet, and died at Boulogne 4th August, 1886, having had issue—
 - (1) Arthur John de Monte, born 10th November, 1857, died 1912.
 - (2) Horace Algernon, died 9th February, 1864, aged five months.
 - (1) Edith, born 20th December, 1854, married (1883) William Henry Ambrose, and died 17th March, 1891.
- V. William Reiersen, of Plaw Hatch, Sussex, born in Upper Wimpole Street 28th January, 1826, of whom presently.
 - I. Mary, born at Madras 29th April, 1812, married at Marylebone parish church (2nd June, 1832) her cousin, John Alves Arbuthnot (p. 310), and died in 1859, leaving issue.
 - II. Jane, born at 47 Queen Street, Edinburgh, 22nd October, 1816, married as his second wife (3rd January, 1846) George, second Viscount Gough, and died 3rd February, 1892, leaving issue.
 - III. Anne, twin with Jane, died unmarried at Lisbon 22nd February, 1840.
 - IV. Elizabeth Georgiana, born 19th May, died 27th September, 1820, on board the *Duke of York*, East Indiaman. Buried in St. Mary's Burial-ground, Madras.

- V. Catherine Gregor, born in Upper Wimpole Street 18th April, 1824, died at Elderslie 22nd August, 1837, in her fourteenth year.
- VI. Elizabeth Agnew, born in Upper Wimpole Street 10th April, 1828; married as his second wife General Sir John Bloomfield Gough, G.C.B., and had issue.
- VII. Laura Calvert, born at Upper Wimpole Street 22nd January, 1830; married (1856) Sir William Lenox-Conyngham K.C.B., of Spring Hill, co. Londonderry, and had issue.
- VIII. Eleanor Louisa, born 28th January, 1833, the heroine of the "Carden Affair," to be related shortly. She died unmarried in 1894.

William Reiersen Arbuthnot of Plaw Hatch, Sussex, fifth son of George Arbuthnot, first of Elderslie, and Eliza Fraser, was born at 14, Upper Wimpole Street 28th January, 1826. In 1845 he went out to India, and was for many years a partner in the firm of Arbuthnot and Co. of Madras, from which he retired in 1875.¹ He was for a time a member of the Legislative Council in Madras, chairman of the Bank of Madras, and chairman of the Chamber of Commerce in that city.

On his return to England he settled at Plaw Hatch, Sussex, a beautiful property on rising ground near Ashdown Forest.² The house, which is considered an almost perfect copy of the Elizabethan style, was entirely planned by Mrs. Arbuthnot, the architect merely giving her the correct elevations. She had a wonderful talent for planning houses and laying out gardens, and did much to beautify the grounds and surroundings.

¹ The failure, in 1906, of his old firm was one of the last great sorrows of Mr. William Reiersen Arbuthnot's life, never mentioned by him except with the deepest emotion. The great bank had endured a hundred years, and, from small beginnings, had grown gradually in wealth, influence, and reputation, till it came to be regarded by the natives as almost a department of the Government and an emblem of the British Raj. The tragedy of its fall was so great and far-reaching that it was no exaggeration to call it—as one correspondent of the *Madras Mail* did—a blow to British prestige in India. The story is so recent and so sad that we shall be excused from referring to it further than in these few words.

² The property was sold in 1916, a few years after Mr. Arbuthnot's death.

Mr. Arbuthnot was a keen Conservative, and was one of the founders of the East Grinstead Constitutional Club. In religious matters he and Mrs. Arbuthnot were staunch Evangelicals, and supported a Mission Room in the village of Sharpthorne, which Mrs. Arbuthnot always attended.¹

Mr. Arbuthnot died 31st May, 1913, and was buried in West Hoathly Churchyard. He had married (9th December, 1858) Mary Helen, eldest daughter of Philip Anstruther, Colonial Secretary of Ceylon, eldest son of Colonel Robert Anstruther, of the 68th Regiment (third son of Sir John Anstruther, second Baronet, of that ilk)² and by her (who died 21st May, 1912, and is buried in the churchyard of West Hoathly) had issue—

- I. George Anstruther, born at Madras 27th March, 1860, died 15th January, 1861.
- II. Philip Stewart-Mackenzie, born at Madras 27th March, 1863, was for many years Honorary Secretary to the Highland Society of London; married (11th December, 1906) Ada Jane, daughter of William John Evelyn of Wotton, Surrey, and has issue Mary Evelyn, born 14th August, 1907.
- III. Keith Fraser, of Summers Place, Billingshurst, Sussex, born 27th May, 1864, married (1899) Mabel Constance Elizabeth, daughter of General David Robertson, late 44th Goorkhas (she died 13th December, 1918) and died 31st October, 1914, leaving issue an only child, Joyce Frances, born 1st August, 1902.
- IV. William Reiersen of the Old House, Plaw Hatch, Sussex, and 40 Princes Gate, London, born 15th December, 1866, married (5th December, 1907) Mabel, only daughter of Francis Henry Slade, of New York, and has issue—

¹ Mrs. Arbuthnot was the foundress of the Women's Protestant Union, and in connection with it edited the *Protestant Woman*, a monthly magazine, for many years.

² Through her mother, Mary Frances, daughter of the Right Hon. James Stewart-Mackenzie of Glasserton (by his wife, the Hon. Mary Mackenzie, only surviving child of Francis, Lord Seaforth), Mrs. Arbuthnot descended from the ancient family of Mackenzie of Kintail, of which Colonel J. A. F. H. Stewart-Mackenzie of Seaforth is now the head.

- (1) Helen Marion, born 27th September, 1910.
- (2) Caroline Elizabeth Mabel, born 10th August, 1912.

V. Harold Denison, born 15th September, 1868, married (28th April, 1898) Anne Grace, daughter of Charles E. Lambert of the Manor House, Effingham, Surrey, and has had issue—

- (1) Clive Denison, R.N., born 1st August, 1900 ;
- (2) David Denison, born 14th October, 1906, died 4th March, 1915.
- (1) Thelma Grace, born 3rd October, 1911.

VI. Kenneth Windham (Major), Seaforth Highlanders), born 23rd July, 1873, entered the Army in 1893 ;^{*} served with the Relief Force in the Chitral Campaign of 1895, receiving the medal with clasp ; was with the Nile Expedition of 1898 ; was present at the Battle of Khartoum, receiving for his services the King's Medal with clasp and the Egyptian Medal ; served in the Boer War, 1900–2, taking part in the operations in Cape Colony (Feb., 1900), Orange Free State (Feb.–March, 1901), Transvaal (March, 1901–May, 1902) ; mentioned in Despatches (*London Gazette*, 29th July, 1902) ; awarded a brevet majority, August, 1902, and the Queen's Medal with five clasps. After his return to England he acted as Adjutant to the fourth Volunteer Battalion of his regiment (August, 1907, to March, 1908) ; to the Territorials, (April, 1908, to June, 1909). He was Brigade-Major, Gordon Infantry Brigade (Scottish Command), from October, 1911, to 9th August, 1914, when he threw up his appointment in the hope

^{*} The Seaforth Highlanders (" Ross-shire Buffs ") were originally raised by Kenneth, sixth Earl of Seaforth, in 1778. The second Battalion was raised in 1793 by Francis, Lord Seaforth, for service against the French. No one took a keener interest in the history of his regiment than Major Arbuthnot, who was, through his mother, great-great-grandson to Lord Seaforth. He studied Gaelic in order to place himself in closer touch with his men, and devoted all his energies to providing for their welfare and increasing the efficiency of the regiment in which he took so much pride.

of being sent out to France. Having previously suffered from over-strain, Major Arbuthnot had been granted six months sick leave, dating from 25th May, 1914, and was far from well at the outbreak of the European War. For this reason he was unable to get leave from the authorities to proceed to France in August, 1914, and his regiment, to his great regret, left for the front without him in the early part of the month. He was not able to rejoin it till the 25th of November, when he at once proceeded to France. Shortly afterwards he was offered the command of the 8th Battalion Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, but preferred to remain with his own regiment. From time to time, friends in influential quarters offered their services to procure him a staff appointment, but all such offers were declined. On the 25th April, 1915, the regiment was ordered to retake a position lost shortly before by the Canadians, against whom gas had been employed for the first time. For some reason no artillery preparation seems to have preceded the attack. The regiment went into action 800 strong, and emerged a mere remnant.¹ Among the handful of officers who survived was Major Arbuthnot's brother, Malcolm, who was shot through the lungs and whose life was long despaired of. Major Kenneth Arbuthnot, with his nephew, Lieutenant Middleton, was one of the first to fall. With him perished all his best and most intimate friends. Had it been otherwise, doubtless a sketch of his career, from the pen of a brother officer, would have been available. It was a Flodden for the regiment, whose sacrifices were little noticed in the newspaper accounts. Major Arbuthnot's body was found within a few yards of the German lines, and was buried on the left side of the St. Jean—St. Julien road, about 1,000 yards south of St. Julien. He had married

¹ Eighty-seven.

(26th April, 1911) Janet Elspeth, daughter of Major Robert Sinclair Wemyss, and had issue—

(1) John Sinclair Wemyss, born 11th February, 1912.

(2) Robert Michael Wemyss, born 9th March, 1914.

VII. Andrew Carmichael, born 6th August, 1877, entered the Army in 1896 as Lieutenant 3rd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders. Served in the Boer War (South African Medal with four clasps). Drove a motor ambulance in France during the European War, and was awarded the Mons Medal. He married (19th June, 1911) Jessie Evelyn, daughter of Charles E. Lambert of the Manor House, Effingham, Surrey, and has issue—

(1) Evelyn Helen Anne, born 23rd June, 1912.

(2) Ursula Bridget, born 10th May, 1915.

VIII. Malcolm Alexander (Major), born 23rd September, 1878; served in the European War; joined up September, 1914, as private in the Public Schools Battalion; commissioned as Lieutenant, 3rd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders (Special Reserve), October, 1914; proceeded to France with his regiment April, 1915; seriously wounded at the second Battle of Ypres, 25th April, 1915; Captain, 23rd June, 1915; appointed Staff-Captain, War Office, January, 1917; proceeded to France, attached to "A" Branch, G.H.Q., March, 1917; appointed D.A.M.S. (afterwards D.A.A.G.), War Office, June, 1918; Brevet-Major the same month; 1914-15 Star; O.B.E., 1919. He married (at Calcutta 8th January, 1906) Florence Jessie, daughter of General George Saunders Theophilus Boileau of Goulburn, New South Wales.

1. Mary Eleanor, born at Ootacamund, 8th March, 1861.

II. Helen Frances, born 21st February, 1862, married (2nd February 1886) Lieut.-Colonel William Crawford Middleton, of the 2nd Dragoons (Royal Scots Greys) and died 1st August, 1900, leaving issue.

- III. Hester Marion, born 13th September, 1865, married (at West Hoathly, 23rd July, 1890) William Nevill Cobbold, and has issue.
- IV. Katharine Isobel, born 23rd October, 1869, married (1902) Hugh Mackay Matheson of Little Scatwell, Ross-shire, only son of Hugh Mackay Matheson of the same place, and has issue.
- V. Cicely May, born 29th March, 1872, married (15th December, 1907) Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Neufville Taylor, D.S.O., 5th Burmah Regiment.
- VI. Dorothy Grace of Forest Lodge, Plaw Hatch, born at Plaw Hatch 27th June, 1884.

We have now to tell the strange story of Eleanor Arbuthnot, youngest daughter of George Arbuthnot of Elderslie and Eliza Fraser.

In 1852, her parents being then both dead, she and her sister Laura were making their home with her elder sister, the Hon. Mrs. George Gough¹ at Rathronan House, Tipperary. In that year Eleanor, with her sister Laura, paid a visit to Eastgrove, the house of a Mr. John Bagwell, in County Cork. Among the guests was a certain Mr. John Rutter Carden of Barnane Castle, Tipperary, member of a family long established there,² a man of position and means, a keen sportsman, exceedingly popular in his county, and who could not for a moment be classed as a fortune-hunter. This man—of whom it is not yet quite settled whether he was the villain or hero of the story we have now to relate—was a Tipperary landowner, a magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant of his county, and was already notorious for the number of times he had been unsuccessfully fired upon by his tenants, his extraordinary immunity having earned him the nickname of "Woodcock Carden." As is well known, agrarian outrages were very common in Ireland about this time, and the position of Irish landlords was anything but an enviable one.

This, then, was the first meeting between these two—he a man of forty-three, she a girl of eighteen—whose names were ever afterwards to be inextricably associated together. In a long and touching letter written by Mr. Carden from Clonmel

¹ Afterwards Viscountess Gough.

² And using the somewhat appropriate family motto of "*Fide et Amore*."

gaol two years later to Eleanor's eldest brother George[†] he gives many details never before made public. He relates that on the evening of 26th July, 1852, he walked in to dinner at Mr. Bagwell's, without the faintest idea of the fate that was to overtake him that night. He had been in love before, and cherished a prejudice against heiresses in general, and it was no secret that the two sisters were each in possession of a fortune of £30,000. He went to Mr. Bagwell's, he says, largely with the idea of amusing himself with the spectacle of others' love-making. Perhaps the Fates looked with disfavour on this levity and merely chose as their instrument of revenge a gentle, sweet-natured girl of eighteen; certain it is, that from the moment she first crossed his path, John Carden was never to know peace of mind or happiness again. This girl—whom we are assured he never moved to a moment's suggestion of response—awakened in him a feeling far deeper than anything usually aroused by mere superficial attraction. He woke to depths of suffering he had never known or believed possible. He found himself in the incredible predicament which had seemed merely ludicrous when others were its victims. Henceforward, till his comparatively early death, one thought alone possessed his soul—to be near her without whose gentle, soothing society he found he could not live, except in torture. He says that her presence became necessary to his happiness. He could not endure a day in which he did not see her. He asked only to be allowed to approach her, to take his chance with the rest. By Mr. Carden's account, it was only when this was refused him that he became desperate and dangerous.

But none of the misfortunes that followed could have been foreseen at this early stage. The only untoward circumstance mentioned by Mr. Carden with regard to this visit was the impression he received that he was disapproved of by a member of Eleanor's family, whose opposition, according to Mr. Carden,

[†] Kindly lent to the writer by Mr. William Arbuthnot-Leslie of Warthill. This letter, with Mr. Carden's pamphlet, published in 1858, is the foundation for the account of this affair, the local papers having also been consulted, together with Mr. Alexander Sullivan's *New Ireland*, where a spirited description of the whole adventure will be found. No material exists for telling the story from Miss Arbuthnot's point of view. The reader must therefore bear in mind that the facts presented here are shown as they appeared to Mr. Carden, and cannot fail, therefore, to have a certain bias, for which allowance must be made.

was even at that time so marked that he seriously thought of proceeding no further in the matter, and of leaving the house. His hostess, however, easily divining his feelings, seems to have dissuaded him from this course, and prevailed upon him to remain, little knowing what a disservice she did her friend.

Mr. Carden told Eleanor that he was thinking of giving a *fête* at Barnane, on which, with perfect innocence, she begged him to invite her to it, insisting that he "could put her and her sister anywhere."

Mr. Carden, leaving Eastgrove, returned to Barnane. It was clear to him that his next step must be to make the acquaintance of Mr. George Gough, whom at the time he only knew by name. He wrote, therefore, to Mr. Gough, expressing his desire to become acquainted with him. After this he paid two visits to Rathronan, staying two nights on each occasion. A little later he and the Gough party stayed three nights at Ballinacourte, with Mr. George Massy-Dawson,¹ and from thence, on the 9th September, they went on to Barnane Castle, where Eleanor became, for ten days, the guest of the unfortunate man whose whole career was to be wrecked by this infatuation.² Mr. Carden says that twice during this visit he was on the point of proposing to her, but feared to risk everything by a premature avowal, which might debar him from the pleasant and friendly intercourse which he says had become necessary to his existence.

Meanwhile, Mr. and Mrs. Gough, who did not approve of Mr. Carden as a prospective brother-in-law, had taken the alarm, and it seems that the whole party left Barnane on the 18th, some days earlier than had been arranged. Mr. Carden took an early opportunity of calling at Rathronan, where he saw Eleanor, and received from her some tickets for a concert

¹ The writer's grandmother, Mrs. George Evelyn, having been a Miss Massy-Dawson of Ballinacourte, some effort has been made to collect any traditions that might have been handed down in the family with regard to this visit, but in vain. The generation whom it concerned have all passed away, and, while some were yet living, the writer had no reason to take any special interest in the matter, though she often heard it casually mentioned.

² Two accounts of this visit have appeared in print, one from the pen of Mr. Carden, the other from the deposition made by Miss Arbuthnot before a magistrate in 1858. There are certain discrepancies in these two versions, but as it is our purpose to revive the facts and not the controversies of over half a century ago, it had been decided to pass on to the next series of incidents mentioned by Mr. Carden in the letter which has furnished us with so many details.

in the neighbourhood at which she was to be present, and where he duly put in an appearance. He was, however, late in arriving, and states that she expressed surprise at this the following day, when they were riding together. Miss Arbuthnot was an expert rider, and was often joined by Mr. Carden, whose horses she sometimes rode. In his later troubles he relates how his thoughts went back to these rides over the Tipperary hills—those hills which he afterwards gazed at from his prison cell, and which embittered his misery by reminding him of the hours they had once passed together.

A day or two after the concert he met her driving in a car, and she asked him whether he knew that she had been to call at the house where he was staying? Perhaps this simple question, in Mr. Carden's then frame of mind, may unfortunately have suggested to him that some special interest was taken in his movements, for it is clear that he considered at this time that he had some grounds to be hopeful. He now determined to bring things to a climax, and, accordingly, sought an interview with Mrs. Gough. We may notice that, as far as can be gathered, he never proposed to Miss Arbuthnot herself. If he had done so, presumably the whole affair would have ended differently, she would (if family tradition does not err) have refused him unequivocally, and the matter would have ended there. It must be remembered, however, that we are dealing with the Victorian period, when girls were not in the habit of receiving direct proposals of marriage.

Eleanor herself, it appears, knew nothing of this interview till some time afterwards. Mrs. Gough, who must be supposed to be the best judge of her sister's feelings, assured Mr. Carden of her certain knowledge that he had not a chance of success, begged him to put the idea altogether out of his mind, and told him that in any case they did not wish Eleanor to marry for two years. Unfortunately Mr. Carden could not bring himself to accept his fate. To put the matter out of his mind was no longer in his power, and he determined not to accept as final the decision of a girl in her teens, or, as he considered it, the decision of her relatives for her. He seems to have been willing to believe anything rather than what family tradition states was the undoubted fact—that she never felt anything but complete indifference towards him. She



Eleanor Arbuthnot, youngest daughter of George Arbuthnot of Elderslie.

is said to have been rather pale, with expressive eyes and to have had a very sweet, winning, diffident manner. Perhaps this gentle manner was responsible for the tragic misapprehension that nothing ever had power to remove. At any rate, Mr. Carden became possessed with the idea that her heart was secretly his and that family opposition alone intervened to separate them. Mr. Carden has sketched Eleanor's character for us as follows: "A Miranda in simplicity, purity of thought, innocence and credulity, she does not comprehend that evil exists in the world. Never did the breath of life animate the bosom of one so gentle, kind-hearted, amiable and confiding. Her only fault is that she leans altogether on those with whom she is placed, and cannot bring herself to act in any way contrary to their opinions and wishes. In the ordinary intercourse of life, she could not say anything which might hurt the feelings of those with whom she is brought in contact. Family affection is with her a passion; and well might a brother writing to her use these expressions: 'From you, of all my brothers and sisters, I have never received an angry word or even a black look.'"

In spite of this discouraging interview with Mrs. Gough, Mr. Carden continued his intercourse with the family, though a terrible misgiving and sense of impending calamity had now come over him. At this period he was still treated as a friend, and, Mr. Gough having suffered from an attack of scarlatina, Mr. Carden prevailed upon him to come and stay at Barnane during his convalescence. When riding with Eleanor just before, Mr. Carden took the opportunity of telling her how great a pleasure it would be to him to welcome anyone belonging to her at Barnane. During this visit, though friendly relations were apparently still maintained, Mr. Carden seems for the first time to have realized that all approaches to Miss Eleanor were definitely and finally closed to him. His disposition seems to have been proud, unconventional and adventurous. He was extremely popular in his county, accustomed, perhaps, to be made much of by women, and not inclined to accept defeat with regard to anything on which he had set his heart. One can form an idea what his somewhat haughty spirit must have suffered in the long agony and series of humiliations he was now to endure. To add to his misery, he knew well that

there were several other candidates in the field, one of whom, he believed, was warmly favoured by Eleanor's family. He now made an irreparable mistake. In an access of despair he wrote to Eleanor and begged her to elope with him. He says that he did not really think that she would consent, but an agony of jealousy made him wish at all costs to keep himself in her mind, and he thought that at the worst she would keep the letter to herself and forgive him afterwards. The event, however, proved otherwise. Miss Arbuthnot was deeply offended and instantly showed the letter to Mrs. Gough. She also wrote to her brother-in-law, then at Barnane, a letter which was naturally expressed in terms of deep resentment, and to which she refers as follows in her affidavit :—" Feeling indignant at such an insulting proposition, for which my conduct towards Mr. Carden had not given the least ground or excuse, I immediately communicated the said letter to my brother-in-law, then at Barnane, as before mentioned, informing him at the same time that in the event of his inviting Mr. Carden to Rathronan, I would leave the house while he was to be there, being determined never to be under the same roof with him."

The letter was immediately communicated to Mr. Carden, and although he seems to have attributed it largely to the influence of her relations, he none the less recognized it as the probable death-knell of his hopes. Finding himself thus dismissed, he wrote to Mr. Gough, expressing the utmost penitence for his presumptuous act, and imploring forgiveness. In reply to this, a sheet of note-paper was sent to him, on which Eleanor had written the single word "*No*," and signed it "E.L.A." "I did not attach importance to it," explained Mr. Carden in the pamphlet he published in 1858, "conceiving that she had acted under influence." Nevertheless, although he would not accept the letter as expressing Eleanor's true feelings, he was now reduced to despair. He made his will in October (1852), leaving to her all his beautiful horses, several of which she had frequently ridden. He now made up his mind to join a brother of his in the West Indies, and well would it have been for Mr. Carden if he had carried out this plan. But, unfortunately, he decided that he could not

* Taken before a magistrate in 1858.

leave the country without seeing her once more. He therefore went one evening to the house of a friend, where he knew she and her relations were dining, and found himself again in her presence. Eleanor was probably shy and bewildered, and perhaps Mr. Carden did not find in her manner any of the severity expressed in her letter, for he says that after that evening he could not bring himself to give her up. He postponed his departure indefinitely, and waited on the chance of things taking a more favourable turn. He now employed mutual friends to intercede for him, so as to be allowed to resume intercourse with the family, but all in vain. Since his rash letter to Eleanor the inmates of Rathronan had held no communication with him. He realized that by his own reckless act he had forfeited all right to approach her, but he says that if he could only have had access to her at this time, he knows she would have forgiven him,—she was so good and kind and gentle. Do what he might, he could achieve nothing more than a few casual words with her now and then, and slowly he was driven into moods of blackest despair, mingled with fierce resentment against those who, as he persuaded himself, were unjustifiably keeping them apart. Mr. Carden had many friends who sympathized with him, making no allowances for the really serious provocation Mr. and Mrs. Gough had received, and these friends now, according to Mr. Carden, began quite innocently to let fall words and comments which had an effect they little anticipated. They assured him of their knowledge that he would never be allowed to meet Eleanor until either he or she were married. That he had not the shadow of a chance unless he chose to carry her off by force. That her family regarded him as a desperado capable of any outrage of this kind and were very much in fear of him, etc., etc. Words like these, lightly spoken, produced a deep effect on Mr. Carden, and he began, unknown to the speakers, to consider seriously the mad plan which has made his name notorious for ever. The scheme was already in his mind when, in April, 1853, being on a visit at Lord Lismore's in the neighbourhood, he ventured to call at Rathronan once more. It was in the morning, and Mr. Carden describes how he remained to luncheon, and afterwards had "much conversation with Miss Arbuthnot, who was turning over the leaves of a book I was examining."

As we proceed with the story, we must bear in mind that Mr. Carden sincerely believed that Eleanor herself was not indifferent to him. The idea became an obsession with him, and by degrees he adopted so distorted a view as to regard her as little better than a prisoner in her brother-in-law's house. He was convinced that she was not happy. In this Mr. Carden appears to have been quite mistaken, for family tradition is definite on this point, but we are now considering his impressions, as recorded in his letter. He thought that she often looked sad. He remembered that when they used to ride together and meet freely, she had seemed happy and light-hearted. He knew that the scheme he was now cherishing, and which, every day, was maturing itself in his mind, was (from the conventional point of view) utterly outrageous and indeed, in the eyes of the law, criminal. But he pleads that the human mind is able to reconcile itself to any idea that has become familiar through long pondering and reflection. So it was with him. His plan soon ceased to appear extraordinary ; it seemed the simplest, most direct, and satisfactory way out of a situation that had become impossible. The idea of violence towards her was of course abhorrent to him. He searched his mind for other alternatives, but could find none. It seemed to him that there was no other way.

Some kind of partial reconciliation with the Gough family must have taken place at this time, for we find by Mr. Carden's account that on the 18th May, 1853, Lord Gough, Mr. George Gough, and Sir Patrick Grant^{*} stayed a night with Mr. Carden at Barnane. On 1st September Mr. Carden dined at Lord Gough's house, St. Helen's, near Dublin, and met Eleanor once more. As Mr. Carden puts it, she "was guarded all the evening," and he found it impossible to approach her. At last, just before retiring, and actuated, perhaps, by a feeling of pity towards him, Eleanor suddenly crossed the room and shook hands with him, before saying good-night. The effect of this evening was to confirm him in the idea that there was nothing for it but to fall back on his desperate scheme. He now began to prepare his plans in detail. His idea was to carry her off to the Galway coast, where he intended to have a yacht in readiness, and from thence to proceed to Skye. A great

* Who had married in 1844 Lord Gough's youngest daughter, Frances.

friend of his, Lord Hill of Hawkstone, had taken a castle there that year, and he counted on Lord Hill's being willing to receive the lady brought to his house in this unconventional way, on her account. He believed he could then induce her to forgive him, and to consent to marry him. At the back of his mind was the knowledge that if he were unsuccessful in obtaining her consent, his fate must actually be the galleys. He determined, however, to risk all consequences to himself, believing that nothing could exceed his present misery.

We must pass briefly over the autumn of 1853. Mr. Carden visited Scotland, and on his way came up accidentally with the Gough party on their way to Inverness. He had a little conversation with them, and asked Miss Eleanor whether she suffered from *mal de mer*—she little guessing the object of the enquiry. He went on to Lord Hill's in Skye, and, while there learnt from his host that a ball was about to be given at Inverness, at which he felt certain the Gough party would be present. He left Lord Hill's abruptly, at midnight, and reached Inverness in time for the ball. Here he states that he believes he for the first time directly annoyed Miss Arbuthnot by following her about the room. He says he had not the slightest wish to offend her, but could not help himself. The next day he walked twenty Scotch miles to Forres, merely to see the party drive past on their way to a Colonel Grant's, where they were to stay. At Inverness Mr. Carden first began methodically buying all those things which he thought would conduce to the comfort of his expected bride—clothes, shawls, toilet requisites, boots and shoes, and everything he could think of that she might require. He returned once more to Barnane, but his "shadowing" of Eleanor had evidently deeply offended and perhaps alarmed Mr. Gough, who on 24th October wrote him a letter from St. Helen's definitely and finally forbidding him the house. Mr. Carden continued his preparations and next proceeded to London, where he concluded his purchases, laying out as much as £500 in one day. He also bought the yacht and had it fitted up with every possible luxury and convenience—even a cot swung as he had seen one some time before in the Queen's yacht, to give relief if the weather were rough. Miss Arbuthnot was indeed to be treated like a queen. An old and trusted maid had been

engaged and was to share her cabin, servants from Barnane whom she knew were placed on board, and everything that love and forethought could do to soften the effect of the initial act of violence was done by him.¹ He intended himself not to see her at all during the voyage, unless by her express desire.

Hearing at this point that she and her family had gone to Paris, he followed them there and went to dine in their hotel one evening. He did not approach them, and says that one of the party, catching sight of him, threw a very indignant glance in his direction. Eleanor, he says, never understood him or his feeling for her. He could not exist away from her. Many a time he paced up and down in the snow outside their hotel, and sometimes actually ran behind their carriage, merely for the sake of being near her. At other times he took solitary walks round Paris, his mind brooding on his sorrows and on the wild expedient he was determined to resort to. He felt a great attachment to her brother William, merely because he knew how dearly she loved him, and it was the fact that he up to this time had shown no special antipathy towards the unfortunate man who describes himself as following the woman he loved with the mute, instinctive misery of an animal which has been robbed of its young.²

One night, at the Opera, Mr. Carden ran up against William Arbuthnot, who spoke to him with kindness and courtesy. Mr. Carden proposed walking home together, but his companion, having a carriage, offered him a lift instead. This Mr. Carden declined, his reason being characteristic. He would not deceive William Arbuthnot, and as he now definitely contemplated an act of violence, he was resolved to accept nothing from those to whom he was about to do an injury. He parted from this loved brother with regret, and shortly afterwards returned to Barnane. The party soon reassembled at Rathronan House, and all preparations were now completed for

¹ "All was done that the most anxious care and thoughtfulness could suggest to soften the rigours of an ungentle proceeding and to place the lady as quickly as possible under proper and efficient protection."—Mr. Carden's statement, published in 1858.

² Mr. William Reiersen Arbuthnot, in later life, always spoke with the utmost kindness of Mr. Carden, generally as "poor Carden." There was no bitterness in his recollection of these circumstances, though, undoubtedly, the two men came into sharp conflict at a later stage.

the final attempt. The only problem was the initial one of seizing Miss Arbuthnot's person, and it was no easy matter to determine how this could best be done.

At this point Mr. Carden says that fate seemed to interfere to thwart him, almost as though, from some unseen source, a strong warning was being conveyed to him. Everything was in readiness when he received news that Miss Arbuthnot had met with an accident. She had been thrown from her horse, had injured her ankle, and was suffering a good deal of pain. In consequence of this she would be obliged to remain indoors for many weeks. This accident threw Mr. Carden into a frenzy of anxiety on her account. From among his acquaintances he collected every scrap of news he could of her condition. He learnt that she lay all day on a sofa and that her weakness seemed to be increasing. He tortured himself with the mistaken idea that she was not being properly cared for.

At this point Mr. Carden's one friend in what he regarded as the hostile camp, William Arbuthnot, took his departure for India. Mr. Carden states that but for her accident Eleanor would have accompanied her brother as far as Paris, and, had she done so, the catastrophe, he declares, could never have taken place. William Arbuthnot was gentle and placable like his sister, and Mr. Carden was convinced that he would have been allowed to see her occasionally, which was all he asked. He expressly states that, had he been allowed to associate with her—even in the most restricted way—he never would have resorted to the act of violence which has been so much misunderstood. He still struggled against the necessity (as he conceived it) of resorting to force. He made one more overture to Mr. Gough. On the 5th March he presented himself at Rathronan again, but was sternly denied admittance. He turned away from the house with bitterness and defiance in his heart.

All was ready, and Mr. Carden waited for his opportunity. Weeks passed in this terrible suspense, while Eleanor made a slow and painful recovery. It was now decided that Mrs. Gough should take her to Paris, to see a surgeon there. This caused another postponement. The day they started Mr. Carden rode down to the station, and was rewarded by a few kind words from Miss Eleanor, who was lying at full length

on the seat of the carriage, Mrs. Gough being with her. She raised her head and answered his enquiries kindly and gently. He rode straight on to Clonmel and had a final interview with Mr. Gough, entreating to be allowed to resume friendly relations. As he must have anticipated, his request was refused. He returned home with a dead-weight at his heart. He had clutched at one last straw to save himself and her, and he saw himself now being swept forwards towards the rapids. By his own account, he wrote a passionate and intemperate letter to Mr. Gough at this time, demanding for the last time to be treated as a friend, and, evidently under the impression that his motives were misunderstood, declared himself ready, if Eleanor should ever marry him, to surrender her fortune to her relations. The effect of this rather injudicious letter can only have been to confirm Eleanor's family in the instinctive prejudice they felt against Mr. Carden.

Perhaps we need hardly say that his next move was to go to Paris, where he refrained from calling, for fear of annoying any of the party. He returned to Barnane by sea, in his yacht, reaching Galway on the 21st June, 1854. The sisters, he knew, were expected at Rathronan within the next few days. All was ready, and he did not anticipate that any circumstance would now intervene to frustrate him. It crossed his mind that in the agitation caused by the forcible seizure, Eleanor might faint or have an attack of hysterics, and "as I was afraid I would, under the circumstances, be unable to give up the young lady to the first doctor, I thought it best to get some advice on the subject." With this idea, Mr. Carden, the day following his return, went to see his usual medical attendant, Dr. Forsyth. Chatting with him in the garden, Mr. Carden mentioned casually that a lady friend of his was subject to hysterical fits, and asked, "Are they dangerous?" "He said 'Yes.' I said, 'Could they kill a person?' He replied, 'Something near it.' 'What's the best thing for them?' I enquired. 'Chloroform,' said he. I asked the quantities. 'Twenty drops in water,' was the reply, 'or . . . thirty drops applied externally.' He took his pocket-handkerchief out, rolled it up deliberately and showed me how to hold it and remarked that it should be held at a distance, if insensibility was not to be produced, for



Lady Hunter (née Arbuthnot), wife of Sir John Hunter, British Consul-General at Madrid.
From a water-colour pointing in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Henry Denison.

the purpose of admitting atmospheric air. . . . So particular was I about the quantity, that I placed a gutta percha band round a glass, so as to mark precisely the necessary quantity, fearing that the rolling of the carriage would prevent my dropping it accurately," etc.*

By Wednesday, 28th June, Mr. Carden's plans were all complete, down to the smallest detail, relays of horses posted along the route to the Galway coast, and his accomplices (tenants from his estate) instructed in their parts. No one knew better than he the movements of the ladies at Rathronan, and he was aware that on Wednesdays they were in the habit of driving to church at Fethard, a distance of seven or eight miles. It happened that on this particular Wednesday Eleanor stayed at home with Mrs. Gough, while Laura and Miss Lyndon, the governess, were driven to Fethard. On the way home they passed Mr. Carden on horseback and noticed a carriage standing near and some rough-looking men hanging about, but of course had no suspicion as to the meaning of these facts.

The next day the Annual Flower Show took place at Clonmel.

Mr. Carden attended it, and so did the party from Rathronan House. This is Eleanor's own account of their meeting, given in her evidence at the trial :

" He came to me and said ' How d'ye do ' ; I bowed to him ; he then asked me how my sister was and I said ' Quite well.' After this he turned away and left me. I think it

* Mr. Carden's statement in court, 31st July, 1854, before sentence was passed. Not unnaturally, the fact that Mr. Carden, when arrested, was found to be in possession of two bottles of chloroform, made a most unfortunate impression. Dr. Forsyth, a nervous man, was much discomposed by his cross-examination with regard to this interview with Mr. Carden. He admitted having prescribed as above, and Counsel proceeded to torment him as follows :—

" You did not ask him for whom he intended these things ? , "

" I did not."

" Which did you think it would be, right or wrong, to ask him ? "

" I formed no idea about it. I did not wish to pry into any matter of the kind."

" What did you mean by that—had you any suspicion ? "

" Not the most remote."

" Then why did you use the word ' pry ' ? "

" From his position and rank in society, I did not wish to ask questions."

" You thought his rank entitled him to administer drugs to a lady ? "

" No."

was about 3 o'clock on that day that I saw him. I remained at the Flower Show till 5 o'clock, and then returned home; I did not see Mr. Carden from that day until the Sunday afterwards."¹

The following Sunday, 2nd July, Eleanor, with her two sisters and Miss Lyndon, attended service at Rathronan Church. As they went in they saw Mr. Carden "loitering" in the churchyard. He had driven into Cashel the night before and taken a room at Shearn's Hotel. His presence roused no surprise, his eccentric pursuit of Eleanor being now accepted as a matter of course. He followed the ladies into the church and took his place quietly among the congregation. His demeanour showed nothing unusual, and he is said to have appeared most "attentive and collected" during the service. In the meantime a brougham, drawn by two thoroughbreds, had drawn up near the Rathronan gate, distant about a mile from the church, and "six strange men were noticed as loitering about, having apparently no particular business in the neighbourhood."²

It was Sacrament Sunday, and the ladies remained for the second service. Mr. Carden came out of the church, and, mounting his horse, rode away in the direction of Rathronan House, towards the spot where his brougham and his men were stationed.

A few drops of rain had fallen during the service, and to this circumstance Eleanor Arbuthnot undoubtedly owed her providential escape. They had driven to church in an open car, but, owing to the rain, Mr. Gough's coachman, Dwyer, decided to drive back to Rathronan while the service was still in progress and exchange the car for a closed carriage. This simple circumstance threw out all Mr. Carden's carefully planned arrangements. Every detail of the plan was complete. The route to the coast chosen by him was one on which a pursuing party would not have been able to procure fresh relays of horses, and would have been absolutely powerless to overtake him. The one small preliminary of forcibly conveying Eleanor into his brougham only needed accomplishment to crown his plans with success. And James Dwyer with his closed car threw out all his calculations. Had Eleanor

¹ *Clonmel Chronicle*, 29th July, 1854.

² *The Times*, 6th July, 1854.

been seated in an open car, there could not have been the slightest difficulty in carrying her off.

Service over, the sisters, with Miss Lyndon, climbed into the closed car, which immediately drove off towards Rathronan House. As they drew near the gates Laura exclaimed, "Mr. Carden is coming," and the next moment he rode past, as though returning to the church. Hardly had he passed them than he wheeled his horse round sharply and followed close behind the car, without addressing a word to its occupants. Even this excited no wonder. It was merely a nuisance and would be over in a few minutes.

All at once the car stopped with a jerk. Three men had dashed out, as it appeared from nowhere, two of them had seized the horse's head, while a third, Rainsberry by name and known to be a man from the Barnane estate, severed the reins with a clasp knife.

Unable to control his horse, Dwyer sprang from the box and rushed forward to seize its head, but was ordered back by one of the hired ruffians, who threatened him with a knife and dared him to advance a step further.

In the meantime Mr. Carden had dismounted, and, heedless of the screams of the terrified ladies, now alive to their danger, presented himself at the back of the car. Luck was against him. Eleanor was neither of the two who sat nearest the door. She was seated on the right, with Miss Lyndon between her and Mr. Carden. On the other side Mrs. Gough sat nearest to him, with Laura beyond. Leaning across Miss Lyndon, he seized Eleanor by the wrist and tried to drag her out. Instantly a wild struggle began, Miss Lyndon especially distinguishing herself. She struck Mr. Carden violently and repeatedly in the face, till the blood flowed. Maddened with pain, he realized that he must first deal with her. Releasing Eleanor, he seized Miss Lyndon by the waist and dragged her from the car. Perhaps it was at this moment that his men concluded that Miss Lyndon was the object of his attempt, for Mr. Carden states that, owing to a mistake of his men, he narrowly escaped abducting the governess, which he says would indeed have been retributive justice! At this moment Dwyer rushed round from the front of the car, and a fierce fight began between him and one or two of Mr. Carden's

retainers. The struggle with Miss Lyndon had caused a delay, the shouts and screams had given the alarm, and two men, McGrath and Smithwick,—employees of Mr. Gough's—ran up and threw themselves with full Irish ardour into the fray.¹

Most of Mr. Carden's prowess had to be directed against the ladies. Mrs. Gough, who was in delicate health at the time, and to whom violence might easily have proved fatal, got out of the car as best she could and in a state of agitation that one can well picture. It was doubtless at this moment that she said to Mr. Carden, "Do you mean to destroy us all?" and he answered, "I do not want to touch you, Mrs. Gough," adding, "I know I shall be hanged for this." Astounded and terrified, Mrs. Gough turned and hurried up the drive, calling loudly for help as she ran.

Mr. Carden returned to the car, where Laura, who struggled to defend her sister in the most determined manner, had next to be disposed of. He succeeded in dragging her out, but her struggles were so violent that they both fell to the ground. Mr. Carden was first on his feet and ran back to the car, where only the terrified Eleanor now remained. Then followed the climax—his brief struggle with the girl who, by no will of her own, had somehow changed him from an ordinary, law-abiding citizen into a reckless madman. He was heard to exclaim several times, "Eleanor, it is you I want!" but the appeal fell on deaf ears. There was no mistake about Eleanor's vehement resistance to her capture. She held fast to a strap until it broke, and then struggled and kicked Mr. Carden with all her force. Nevertheless, he had almost lifted her out, her feet only remaining in the car, when he was half stunned by a violent blow on the side of the head. He replaced Eleanor in the car, and stood back for a moment, a little dazed. Recovering himself, he pointed to Eleanor, calling out to his men, "Take that one, don't mind the others!" Rainsberry rushed forward and seized her very roughly,—her dress being torn in the struggle that ensued,—but was pulled off by Dwyer, who now, to his relief, saw reinforcements appearing. Mr. Carden saw them too, and, in the excitement and morti-

¹ John McGrath afterwards gave evidence as follows:—"When first they were attacked, I heard the ladies scream terribly, and they made a great resistance entirely; I saw their hands outside the car, shoving Mr. Carden back from it," etc.

fication of failure, shouted to his men: "Cowards, why don't you fire?"—a circumstance that told heavily against him at his trial.¹

Others of Mr. Gough's men were now running up. Another moment, and the assailants would have been hopelessly outnumbered. Mr. Carden sprang on to his horse and rode off in the direction of Templemore, followed by the brougham. He had not gone very far before, feeling faint, he was obliged to dismount and enter the carriage, which proceeded on its way at full gallop.

Meanwhile the news spread like wildfire. From every direction the neighbouring gentry hurried to Rathronan, to offer their condolences and sympathy. The police hurried in from Cashel, were promptly mounted on Mr. Gough's swiftest horses, and dashed off in pursuit. Then followed one of the most exciting chases ever heard of in Tipperary. Mr. Carden had a full hour's start. It was surmised that he would take the Templemore road, and make for Barnane. Mr. Alexander Sullivan, who has so graphically described the whole incident in his *New Ireland*, happened to be standing with some friends at the gateway of Holy Cross Abbey, examining some ancient sculptures, when, to their surprise, a mounted police orderly dashed past, his horse covered with foam and dust, and a moment later vanished in the distance. The party speculated as to what could have happened, and very naturally concluded that another landlord had been shot, and that the police were hunting the murderer. What was their amazement shortly afterwards to learn that it was a landlord who was the quarry,—“one of the magnates of the county, a great landlord, a grand juror, magistrate, deputy-lieutenant!”

After a mad race of twenty miles, which were covered by Mr. Carden's carriage at such a rate that, with his hour's start, he would have out-distanced his pursurers, had not the bad state of the road at last tired out his horses, the mounted police came up with the carriage at Farney Bridge, and “the sub-inspector, with his men, dashed forward. Mr. McCullagh at once seized the horses' heads and ran them into the ditch,

¹ In the letter we have mentioned Mr. Carden says that he had only provided the firearms in order to shoot the horses of a pursuing party, if required.

while the constables drew their swords and prepared for the encounter. Two men jumped from the dickey of the carriage and showed fight, but one was immediately knocked heels over head by the flat edge of a sabre. Any resistance on the part of the pursued was speedily terminated by the fact that a police barrack was within a stone's throw of where they were overtaken, and the force having turned out to the aid of their comrades, Mr. Carden and his men surrendered, were disarmed and marched prisoners back to Cashel."¹

As the carriage turned back towards Cashel, one of Mr. Carden's beautiful horses, worth £150, dropped to the ground, dead with fatigue.

Reaching the county gaol, Mr. Carden, who "leaped lightly from the vehicle," was given into the custody of the governor. We read that "a large crowd was collected round the prison door, and the women especially expressed their sympathy with him, as one who loved not wisely but too well."

The following day, Monday, 3rd July, "several of the gentry visited Mr. Carden in prison."

No words can describe the sensation created when the affair became known, or the excited headlines of the papers announcing the incredible fact. It was many a long day since either Irish or English journalists had had such "copy," and they made the most of it.

Freeman's Journal opined that Mr. Carden could only have been prompted to such an outrage by actual lunacy, and that he "stands more in need of a straightwaistcoat than of a wife," while *The Times* (in words to which the prisoner's counsel took exception at the trial as having prejudiced his client's case) remarked that "For years past, no event of a non-political cast has created greater excitement than the adventurous attempt of the lord of Barnane to possess himself, by means beyond the pale of the law, of a bride endowed with all those requisites, personal and pecuniary, which are but too frequently irresistible for the philosophy of the Celtic temperament."

The public had not long to wait for the further excitement of the trial, for the summer assizes were due to come on at Clonmel the end of that month. As the day approached the

¹ *The Times*, 6th July, 1854.

tension and excitement in the neighbourhood became extreme. "The assizes for the South Riding of Tipperary were opened yesterday at Clonmel," writes *The Times* correspondent, "with an air of bustle and excitement to which that rather dull town has been wholly a stranger ever since the trial of Mr. Smith O'Brien and other actors in the guilty follies of 1848. For two days previous the 'gentry' had been pouring into town, and the unhappy High Sheriff¹ was literally overwhelmed with applications for admission to the Court-house, while, almost as a matter of course, the fair sex display the deepest interest in the result of the trial."²

The day of the trial—the 28th of July—having arrived, "the greatest excitement prevailed. Long before the hour named for opening the court, the continued rolling of carriages towards the Court-House evinced the anxiety of all parties to be present at this extraordinary trial, and no sooner were the doors opened, than the galleries were immediately filled with ladies whose varied attires presented a rather picturesque and unusual appearance in a court of justice. Lord Gough, the Hon. Captain Gough, the Messrs. Arbuthnot and several members of the family of the young lady were present; and Sir John Craven Carden, R. M. Carden, Esq., J.P., of Fishmoynes, with many of the friends of the accused, watched the progress of the trial with the deepest interest."³

At length, Judge Ball having taken his seat on the bench, and silence being commanded, the court ordered John Carden to be placed at the bar. All eyes—especially, we are told, "those in the gallery"—were immediately turned towards the door from which the prisoner was to enter, "in order," says the *Clonmel Chronicle*, "as we suppose, to see how the prisoner would bear up under the pressure of his unhappy circumstances."

"At length the prisoner appeared, and walked with a firm step to the bar, before which he stood with a placid countenance and folded arms."

The clerk of the Crown then addressed him as follows:

"John Carden, you stand indicted for that you, on the 2nd of July, in the 18th year of the Queen, at Rathronan, did

¹ Mr. George Massy-Dawson.

² *The Times*, 29th July, 1854.

³ *Tipperary Free Press*, 29th July, 1854.

unlawfully and by force take away Eleanor Louisa Arbuthnot, with intent that you should marry her against her consent. . . . How do you say, are you guilty or not guilty? "

The prisoner, "in a mild tone of voice," pleaded "Not Guilty."

The Attorney-General then proceeded to open his case. It had been decided by the Crown to charge the prisoner with actual abduction, the punishment for which was transportation for life. It was argued that as Eleanor had, to all intents and purposes, been removed from the car, a technical abduction had taken place. If this should break down, he was to be charged alternatively with *attempted* abduction, and at the last moment a further charge, of "felonious assault" upon Smithwick, who had been somewhat seriously hurt, was put forward. The latter charge, which, if proved, would also have involved transportation, was generally resented. It was felt that the Crown was overdoing its case, and that the proceedings savoured of persecution. The prisoner's plea of "Not Guilty" was in answer to the first charge. To the alternative he pleaded "Guilty," to the last indictment "Not Guilty." The Attorney-General, with great solemnity, called attention to the undisputed fact that Mr. Carden belonged to the higher ranks of society. "Gentlemen, it is a most deplorable thing to see a person in the condition of the prisoner at the bar stand there!" He went on to make the illuminating remark that "Perhaps one of the causes which have maintained the distinction of ranks in this country has been what I may call the immunity from crime in its aristocracy,—its higher orders." He described Mr. Carden's former intimacy with Mr. Gough's family, and went on to say that "after some time, and without having paid any such marked attentions to his sister-in-law as might have warranted him in such a step, it would appear that Mr. Carden proposed for her, and that his proposal was rejected with indignation," etc. He then went through all the circumstances leading up to the attempt, maintaining that Mr. Carden was actuated by spite and pique owing to his proposal having been refused, and insisting very strongly on the danger to Mrs. Gough from a violent scene of the sort.

The witnesses were then called.

It must have been a dramatic moment when Eleanor Arbuthnot was led forward to give her evidence against the prisoner. She was at this time twenty years of age, and is described as being "pale and rather good-looking," and as being "dressed in a striped silk dress, black silk visite, plain straw bonnet trimmed with blue ribbon, and a black veil."¹ This was the moment the prisoner had been longing for. During the long hours in Clonmel gaol he had been comforted with the thought of seeing her "sweet face" in court. He wrote upon a slip of paper "*Do not trouble her,*" and handed it to his counsel. Then he gave himself up to the luxury of watching her, even if only for ten minutes. He says that he compared time with eternity at that moment, and ten minutes with a life. He says the pleasure he felt in hearing her voice, so soft, innocent and natural, cannot be conceived. He saw that part of the trimming on her dress trembled—whether from the draught or from hidden agitation he could not tell.

Eleanor related how she had "kicked" Mr. Carden, how he had seized her wrists, how they were "bruised from the effects of the dragging," how she had struggled with Rainsberry, and how Dwyer had come to her assistance. In answer to a question, she stated that she "had never encouraged Mr. Carden." Her cross-examination consisted of a few courteous questions from prisoner's counsel, who easily induced her to say that she had "successfully resisted" Mr. Carden's attempt to drag her from the car. This was of importance for the sake of proving that the abduction had not actually taken place, and it was, indeed, sufficiently obvious that Mr. Carden had failed in his object.

The Attorney-General then proceeded to argue that the crime of abduction had actually been committed. He said that if Miss Arbuthnot "had been taken to Farna-castle, it would have been an abduction; the same would have been the case if she were only taken to Fethard, and so back to the door of the car. He could not see where the line of distinction was to be drawn."

In reply, prisoner's Counsel contended that no abduction had taken place. He made no attempt to palliate the act

¹ *Tipperary Free Press*, 29th July, 1854.

in any way, and said that "even the young lady herself must many times since the occurrence have returned thanks to God that the attempt had been unsuccessful," etc.¹

The Grand Jury, consisting entirely of Mr. Carden's neighbours and friends, found him "Not Guilty" of abduction, but "Guilty" of attempted abduction.

On Monday, 31st July, the last charge, that of "felonious assault" was heard. As has been said, a good deal of indignation was generally felt with regard to the proceedings at this point, and when the jury, after a very brief retirement, gave their verdict of "Not Guilty" an extraordinary scene took place in court. The verdict "was received with loud cheers, and many of the ladies in the gallery enthusiastically waved their handkerchiefs. As soon as the result of the trial was made known outside the court-house, where a large crowd had assembled, three vociferous cheers were given for Carden of Barnane."²

Mr. Carden was now informed that he was about to be sentenced for the attempted abduction, and he asked leave to make a short statement. In a voice "tremulous with emotion" Mr. Carden then addressed the court as follows :

"I wish to make a few observations, my Lord, but, in what I have to say, I do not by any means attempt to disclaim or palliate the heinous crime I have committed, nor do I wish for a moment to attempt by any language of mine to influence the Court in the amount of punishment which it may be thought fit to visit upon me. I have a very strong feeling that the judges of the land are just and impartial, and, therefore, prior to your Lordship commencing those strictures—which must be of a grave character—I do wish to impress upon you, under the most solemn asseveration, that three of the positions which were made by the Attorney-General in his opening speech against me, and which no doubt were briefed to him, are absolutely and positively untrue. The first is, that I was influenced in this attempt by any degree of malice either towards the young lady herself or any member of her family. Secondly, that I had the slightest idea or

¹ *The Times*, 31st July, 1854.

² *The Times*, 2nd August, 1854.

knowledge in the world of the delicate state of health of Mrs. Gough ; and the third is that which I would disclaim with the deepest indignation, that I had the remotest intention of using any of those drugs whatsoever for the production of stupefying effects, or the production of any effect inconsistent with the dictates of common humanity. My Lord, as to the first, the malice and hatred towards Miss E. Arbuthnot or any member of her family,—every person who is acquainted with me is aware of the feeling which I have for some time held towards that young lady, and it is hardly necessary for me now to observe upon it. Not only towards her, but with respect to any member of her family, I solemnly avow that I was not influenced by any such feeling ; and at this moment no such feeling has possession of my mind. It is perfectly true that at one time, when angry with Mr. Gough, I expressed myself towards him in that manner ; but I now say that the attempt—the criminal attempt—which I have made and failed in, arose out of no such motive ; and even now I do not blame Mr. Gough in the slightest degree. . . I now lay down all anger at once and for ever. Mr. Gough ought to know that malice or hatred is not congenial to my mind ; for it is well known that my career has been a terrible one. And I do attribute it to that circumstance, that I never bear malice towards any person opposed to me. I do believe it is attributable to that.¹ And now that that career is brought to a close, standing, as I do, in this disgraceful position, I do feel there is not a single person in this great county who will exult in my downfall.” (Sensation.) With regard to Mrs. Gough’s ill-health, Mr. Carden went on to say that he had not the slightest knowledge of it, adding : “ Had I providentially known it, it certainly would have forbid me to make any such criminal attempt. . . .”

Mr. Carden then went on to relate the details of his interview with Dr. Forsyth, which has already been related, adding, “ Perhaps, under the circumstances, I had better not detain your Lordship with any further observations.” The judge having expressed his willingness to hear anything further

¹ Mr. Carden’s meaning here is not quite clear, and it is obvious that the reporter must have omitted a sentence or part of a sentence.—See *The Times*, 2nd August, 1854.

Mr. Carden might have to say, he concluded his statement as follows :

“ It would have been gratifying to me to make you acquainted with the details of my plan, for this reason, that it would have convinced your Lordship that no such allegations could with truth be brought forward against me ; but it would be indecorous for me to relate any story which might by some be attributed to a wish on my part to put myself forward as the hero of a romantic tale, when I feel I stand here as a criminal for having outraged the law of my country.”

Judge Ball then pronounced sentence as follows :

“ John Carden, you have been found guilty of an attempt to commit a felony, hardly, in a single instance, known to have been perpetrated by any person of the class of society to which you belong, within the present century, in this country ; an attempt to carry away by force a lady against her consent and with the intent to marry her. It is well known that down to the close of the last century, the lawless habits and disposition of a portion of society, and the insufficiency of the laws to afford due protection, incited the commission of such offences not unfrequently by persons of station and property. But for the last half century these disgraceful outrages have all but ceased to exist among persons of that class, and to you belongs the discreditable distinction of having attempted, at the present advanced stage of civilization and among a population now happily returning to habits of order, thrown among the upper classes, the lawless excesses of a barbarous state of society. . . . The law, as you have often heard, knows no distinction of persons ; and in descending to the level of the lowest class, you have of necessity brought upon yourself the same character of punishment as awaits them when they offend in a like manner. You may believe it is not without a pang that, in the discharge of my duty, I feel it essential to pronounce upon you the sentence of the Court, which is—that you be imprisoned for two years, and kept to hard labour during that period.”¹

¹ *The Times*, 2nd August, 1854.

The prisoner was removed, and the doors of Clonmel gaol closed behind John Carden, who passed to what must have been to one of his temperament a living death, branded as a ruffian and a criminal. He speaks movingly of the long, weary days and nights he lived through, of how he often lay on the narrow prison bed with his face to the wall, sobbing with the forlorn and hopeless longing for her presence. From the window of his cell he looked out on the beautiful Tipperary hills, and the sight of them added to his misery.

But although a silence worse than death had closed over him, outside the prison feeling ran high and violent controversy raged. Society in Tipperary was sharply divided into two parties, for or against the prisoner, Mr. Carden's friends being in the majority. As a typical example of Irish partizanship, it was vehemently asserted that Miss Arbuthnot's social position was greatly inferior to Mr. Carden's, whereas, in point of fact, it may well be said that her lineage was at least as ancient as that of the Cardens of Barnane. The correspondent of the *Cork Examiner* writes as follows: "The majority of your readers will learn, I have no doubt, with very considerable surprise, that a strong sympathy is manifested in this neighbourhood for Mr. Carden. This feeling is not, as might be supposed, confined to the lower classes, who have been constantly accused of this tenderness for great criminals, but is generally felt by persons in a much higher class of life. It is quite easy to ascertain that this exists, as the trial and the circumstances form the sole topic of conversation. I have myself heard several gentlemen, many of whose names were on the panel, palliating the crime of Mr. Carden, and speaking in strong terms of indignation of what they call the 'persecution' on the part of the Government. . . . A general expression in use among this class of persons is that 'he was too good for her' . . . and they appear to be rather indignant at her presumption in having an opinion of her own on the subject. Among the humbler class, more particularly the female portion, this feeling exists to a far greater extent even. . . . The phrase used by persons of a more respectable rank, 'that he was too good for her,' is repeated with great energy by their poorer neighbours. Nay, so strong is this feeling, that the popular, and particularly the female indignation was not against

Mr. Carden, but against Miss Arbuthnot. I have been assured that great fears were entertained that the young lady should be hooted in the streets, and I have myself heard crowds of amazons in the neighbourhood of the Court-House express their anger that 'such a fine man should be put out of the way for the like of her.' "

The scene in court when Mr. Carden was acquitted on the second indictment attracted the unfavourable attention of *The Times*, which, on 3rd August, published a leader on the subject. "We are all of us wrong, it seems"—so the article ran—"on this side of the Channel about Mr. Carden's affair. It has been treated as a half mad attempt to revive an utterly exploded barbarity—as mere a revival as Don Quixote's knight-errantry, the Baronial Hall at Rosherville, or the Eglintoun tournament; but there is more vitality about the practice which Mr. Carden has so splendidly illustrated than dull Englishmen, or even Mr. Justice Ball, had supposed. The *animus* of abduction survives in Ireland, and, though Mr. Carden has been unlucky, perhaps because he selected for the object of his attempt the daughter of a Saxon, it is very clear that there is at least one county in Ireland in which even the Rape of the Sabines might be reproduced without meeting with a serious resistance or unqualified horror. Acquitted on his second trial, Mr. Carden received an ovation in court. The ladies of Tipperary waved their handkerchiefs from the gallery and cheered the ungentle knight, whose only fault was the excessive ardour of his love. The ladies whom we ventured to praise the other day for a resistance which, strenuous as it was, proved barely sufficient for the purpose, are thought to have been rather too rough. Who was Miss Eleanor Arbuthnot that she should refuse the hand of the Lord of Barnane? Was not he one of the real old families, and was not she just nothing, except a girl with £30,000—nothing particular, too, as to beauty? It is voted rather a condescension on the part of Mr. Carden that he took so much trouble to win the lady's hand, and she is considered a saucy minx for rejecting him. . . . He only mistook his object, and it is a case where success is all the test we can apply. Treason is only treason when it does not prosper, and had Mr. Carden fallen on easier material, for example, on one of the

ladies in court—the act would not have been abduction, but a gentle violence. As little ground, too, have we for suspecting that this unfortunate gentleman is not quite right in the head. When a score or two ladies can be found to cheer a man who has attempted to drag a lady out of a carriage on her return from church, and carry her away, nobody knows where, in order to make her marry him, the natural inference is, that this style of courtship is not so irrational in Tipperary at least, and that Mr. Carden committed no more absurdity than the O'Mulligan did when he mistook the master of the house for the butler. So, whatever the male jury and the judge may have thought, in the opinion of the female jury the prisoner stands acquitted of both crime and insanity. He has only mistaken his lady." *The Times* goes on to remark that, provided a proper choice of the victim is made, abduction as a preliminary to marriage has much that can be urged in its favour, as making less heavy demands "on the purse, the patience and the moral courage of the two parties," than a wedding in form, with bridesmaids, best man, breakfast, cards, cake, veils and orange-flowers. "We only ask that a mode of courtship so economical and, as it appears, so popular with the ladies of Tipperary may not be applied to English ladies, or to any ladies who are not prepared for it, and, for the protection of the uninitiated, we think it very desirable that when a mistake is made, as in Mr. Carden's case, the blunderer should be punished."

In the course of this month a *supersedeas* was issued, dismissing Mr. Carden from the Deputy-Lieutenancy and magistracy of Tipperary. In spite of such public marks of disgrace, his friends (called "the Cardenites") were making every effort to procure his early release. Lord Donoughmore especially, an intimate friend of his, used his utmost influence on Mr. Carden's behalf. All was in vain. No remission of the sentence could be obtained. But after some months a proposal from the Government was submitted to Mr. Carden. He was informed that he would be released if he consented to sign an undertaking not to "annoy or molest" Miss Eleanor Arbuthnot "in any manner whatever, by word, deed or gesture." After some hesitation, due to uncertainty as to how these words might be interpreted, Mr. Carden agreed to sign the

document. "I was induced to consent," writes Mr. Carden, "but having given in my adhesion in the usual form, and received by the hands of the Crown Solicitor the bond, . . . I found that the original terms were thus amplified,—'that the said John Carden should not annoy or molest the said E. L. Arbuthnot, directly or indirectly, by word, deed, or gesture, or personally intrude himself upon her presence, or hold communication with any member of her family in relation to her, the said Eleanor Arbuthnot.' This bond was to endure for ten years, and placed me under an obligation of £20,000, and my two sureties of £5,000 each. . . . Rather than submit to this outrage against the constitution exhibited in my person, —sooner than consent to the eternal separation from the being whom I adored, which it was the object of my enemies to effect, I passed the remainder of my sentence, viz., seventeen months, a voluntary prisoner in the gaol of Clonmel, having, however, in vain submitted, from time to time, various propositions to the Government, one of which, from myself, was to serve as a common soldier in the Crimea during the term of the Russian war. It were vain for me to attempt to describe the painful character of the rumours which were circulated in consequence of my refusal to submit to the terms offered by the Government. A report was industriously spread, which I am informed gained credence with the Government of the day, that I was actually insane. One of my most intimate friends, a noble lord now holding high office in the present Government,¹ visited me one day and informed me that it was said to be the intention to press such an accusation against me at the termination of my imprisonment, unless I would then accept the conditions above alluded to; and my attention was kept continually on the rack to avoid any expressions from irritation at the injustice done me, which might be recorded to give a colour to the insinuations industriously circulated."

Mr. Carden's attitude being entirely misunderstood, the news that he had refused to sign the undertaking was received with consternation. It was everywhere asserted that he must be meditating another criminal act, and that there could be no peace or safety for Miss Arbuthnot from the moment

¹ Doubtless Lord Donoughmore, who was Vice-President of the Board of Trade in 1858, when Mr. Carden's pamphlet was published.

that he was set at liberty. Most probably some distorted account of this incident was conveyed to her, and must have thrown her into the utmost terror.

At last the two years were over, and Mr. Carden was a free man again. He left the prison very quietly, wishing to avoid a projected demonstration in his favour, which he thought might be disliked by Eleanor's family. He now determined to go to India and there see William Arbuthnot—then a partner in the great banking firm at Madras—and lay his case before him. He says that he was at first kindly received, but that after an interview with Sir Patrick Grant, William Arbuthnot changed his attitude, and wrote him a letter declining to hold any further communication with him. He then returned home and, on reaching Ireland, sought an interview with the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Carlisle. "He received me with his usual kindness, and I stated to him my deep regret for my past conduct, and my determination never again to violate the laws of my country; and in every variety of language, on every possible occasion, by word or letter, and to every possible person with whom I have communicated, I have given an assurance that never again would I be guilty of a second attempt to repeat the offence which caused so much pain to the lady to whom I profess myself deeply attached, or to be guilty of any violence towards her."

Mr. Carden's thoughts at this time turned towards public life, for which his talents eminently fitted him, but unfortunately those who seemed to be his friends, but who were in fact his worst enemies, now once more urged upon him not to give Eleanor up altogether. They assured him that she appeared greatly agitated whenever his name was mentioned. That she shed floods of tears when alone. That she seemed to be pining away, and that nobody seemed to care or to take any interest in her. All this (though doubtless quite imaginary) naturally pierced him to the heart. He knew that by his own act he had made it impossible that they should ever meet again in the ordinary way. "At last," he writes, "I determined to force an interview with Lord Gough¹ himself, and proceeding to Loughcooter for that purpose, I surprised him in his own demesne. Lord Gough's reception of me was that

¹ Mr. George Gough's father, Field-Marshal Viscount Gough, the hero of the Sikh War.

of a soldier and a gentleman. Every *amende* that words could convey I made for the insult I offered, as he said, to his family, and I received his entire forgiveness. I then informed him that I had obtained the most positive information as to Miss Arbuthnot's state of mind ; that when she heard me abused by her friends, she would burst into tears, and then retire to her room for the remainder of the evening, where she was left without notice or remark, with details of a similar nature. Lord Gough said ' that the hearts of young girls were deceitful, but that, assuming my supposition to be true, which he did not by any means admit, the world would not allow Miss Arbuthnot to marry me.' That appears to me a remark of deep import in relation to the late proceedings ; but my opinion is, that the world cares little about the affairs of two humble individuals, who ought to be allowed to settle them in private, and without being subjected to a species of interference which results in public scandal. Finally, Lord Gough advised me to pursue an open, not a clandestine course, and, acting upon this suggestion, I went to Clonmel, and not finding Mr. Gough at home, I wrote to request a meeting with him." But the scene enacted at his gate two years before, with all its aggravating circumstances, had evidently wounded Mr. Gough too deeply to admit of a reconciliation. After an interval, he declined the interview. Mr. Carden seems also to have believed that his object in writing was misunderstood, for he states that it was rumoured and generally believed at this time that he had requested a hostile meeting, and that his letter was in the nature of a threat. In the course of his interview with Lord Gough, the latter had " enquired if I had been in the habit of holding communication with Miss Arbuthnot's maid, Margaret Keating, for that she had been lately dismissed by the family on that suspicion." Mr. Carden truthfully assured Lord Gough that he had never had any communication with Margaret Keating ; he did not even know that such a person existed. But the question unhappily conveyed to Mr. Carden an impression very different from that intended by Lord Gough. Mr. Carden asked himself whether, if the maid had been dismissed on a supposition of this kind, he might not suppose that the mistress herself was not *quite* above suspicion on his account? He became more

desirous than ever to have one interview with her, even though in the presence of witnesses, and judge for himself how he stood with her. But it was impossible that such an interview could ever take place, and he began to consider what other means of approach were open to him. He did exactly what Lord Gough had advised him not to do—he resorted to clandestine means. He first determined to find the dismissed maid and to learn the truth of the story from her own lips. In this he was unsuccessful. The maid had completely disappeared. Her relations were unable to give any account of her. This mystery was never cleared up, but her stepmother, Mrs. Keating, now showed herself willing to serve Mr. Carden in any way possible. It is melancholy to read the sequel. Mrs. Keating, acting as his envoy, represented herself as having had several encouraging interviews with Miss Arbuthnot, who, according to her account, looked ill and wretched, and was, she declared, in danger of sinking into a decline. All this was positively denied on oath by Miss Arbuthnot later, and we cannot but conclude that some of Mr. Carden's emissaries found it a lucrative business to encourage him with false hopes. It was shortly after this that Eleanor signed the informations before a magistrate at Kingstown Police Office, which have been already referred to, and in which she stated that he "was well aware, notwithstanding his pretence to the contrary, that I will never consent to see or have any intercourse whatever with him," and swore that "I am apprehensive that he will, should occasion offer again, commit serious violence to me and that I am in danger from him, and I positively swear that I entertain the greatest aversion to the said John Carden, and I have never given any encouragement to justify his addresses to me, either directly or indirectly." These informations Mr. Carden was assured she had signed in tears and against her will. They, therefore, made no impression upon him.

Mr. Carden was in court when Eleanor Arbuthnot was once more called to give evidence, this time with regard to the interviews between herself and Mrs. Keating. She denied in unequivocal terms most of what Mrs. Keating asserted to have taken place, and it is a curious circumstance that although he heard these most solemn denials, Mr. Carden still continued

to believe Mrs. Keating's very circumstantial narrative ; and although it followed from this that he believed Eleanor to have committed perjury in the most deliberate way, his feelings towards her remained unchanged. He again asserted that she was "under coercion." On this occasion, the magistrate remarked "that it may not be too much for me to express a hope that after what has been said here to-day, Mr. Carden will cease to entertain the delusion under which he appears to have laboured respecting the feelings of Miss Arbuthnot. I do not wish to say anything offensive of anybody ; but if what has been sworn here is true, I cannot conceive that there can exist a person pretending to the character or name of a gentleman, who would persist in pursuing and annoying with his attentions the person who has so sworn. If false, I would pity the man who could continue to entertain a good opinion for five minutes of a person who falsely swears that she always entertained an aversion towards him."

To this Mr. Carden rejoined that he thought, on the present occasion, it would be more gentlemanly in him not to say a syllable in answer to the observations just made.¹

During the succeeding years, Mr. Carden systematically followed Eleanor's footsteps, often appearing unexpectedly in neighbourhoods where she was staying. He followed her to Lough Cutra, in Galway, to Sir William Lenox-Conyngham's in Co. Londonderry and to Elderslie, in Surrey, in the vain hope, no doubt, of obtaining an interview with her. She was riding one day with her brother William at Elderslie when Mr. Carden suddenly appeared, also on horseback, and attempted to speak to her. His account of what happened

¹ These proceedings merely terminated in Mr. Carden's being bound over. In the course of them, Mr. Carden's counsel, Mr. Curran, said that "he believed that if Miss Arbuthnot told Mr. Carden to his face that she had an aversion towards him, he would, like a gentleman and a man of honour, abandon all thoughts of her for the remainder of his life."

Mr. Carden—That is perfectly true, Mr. Curran.

Mr. Porter said that he did not know what Mr. Carden's opinion of the lady might be, but she had sworn on the Holy Evangelists that she entertained the greatest aversion towards him.

Mr. Curran—I grant you she has sworn that ; but I am speaking of what this gentleman instructs me was his wish, namely, to hear that from her own lips, and not in the presence of any other human being.—*Dublin Evening Post*, 14th October, 1858.



Prince Charles Edward Stuart.

From a miniature presented by him to Captain Thomas Arbuthnot.

is as follows: "On riding up at Elderslie to speak to Miss Arbuthnot, certainly in a gentle tone of voice, this gentleman (*i.e.*, William Arbuthnot) proceeded to shake his whip at me violently; Miss Arbuthnot appeared to me to expostulate, but his violent demonstrations continued; and knowing that Miss Arbuthnot's strong family affection would be much hurt by the use of violence on my part towards her brother, even in my own defence, I retired, and in the evening sent him the following note:

"SIR,—Although, for obvious reasons, I must wish, in your case, as far as possible to avoid that species of hostile collision which you seem inclined to provoke, even in your sister's presence, I cannot allow you for a moment to suppose that such scandalous and unjustifiable interference will in the slightest degree alter my determination, or interfere with the general line of conduct which I have determined to pursue. As to yourself, I only hope that you will come to view the subject with a more patient temper and in a more Christian spirit."

Every effort has been made to discover whether Mr. Carden and Eleanor ever came face to face again, under circumstances where any conversation could have taken place between them. The following is the tradition, according to one member of the family:

They met in an hotel abroad, whither he had followed her. He entered a room where she happened to be seated alone. Miss Arbuthnot instantly rose and requested him to leave the room, stating that if he did not, she must immediately do so. This, presumably, put an end for ever to the long and painful misunderstanding. Mr. Carden, at last undeceived, no doubt retired to Barnane, and there lived his life in the rather eccentric manner described by Mr. Sullivan in his *New Ireland*. He died in 1866, after a few days' illness. The will of 1852, leaving his horses to Eleanor, must have been destroyed, for

* Throughout this part of the story one cannot but notice that Mr. Carden strangely underestimated the very real apprehension that was felt as to whether he might not attempt some further act of violence. He had given his word not to do so, and he knew himself to be incapable of breaking it, but he seems to have made no allowance for the natural misgivings felt by those whom he had injured and terrified.

in the will as proved, to which he added a codicil the day before his death, there is no mention of her.

Miss Arbuthnot never married. In her later life she lived in Edinburgh, devoting herself to the sons of her sister Laura (Lady Lenox-Conyngham), who were being educated there. She died at Lough Cutra Castle in 1894, after a year's painful illness. All who ever knew her speak of her with the utmost devotion, as one of the saints of the earth. Mr. Carden judged her rightly. It was a power far higher than superficial beauty that held him enslaved. His fate in life was a terrible one. If, removed from the scenes we have been describing by over six decades, and recognizing that the law had its pound of flesh and something over, we are able to review without rancour scenes that can never be forgotten, we shall surely be allowed at this era to feel little else than pity for one who was himself the principal sufferer from an impetuous act so bitterly regretted and so fully expiated.

George Arbuthnot, second of Elderslie, Surrey, eldest surviving son of George Arbuthnot and Eliza Fraser, was born at Madras, 24th April, 1815. He was for some time a partner in his father's firm, and married at the Cathedral Church of St. George, Madras (28th August, 1844), Maria, daughter of John Fryer Thomas of the Madras Civil Service, and died 19th March, 1895 (buried at Ockley), having by her (who died at 14 Craven Hill Gardens, 5th May, 1889) had issue—

- I. George, third of Elderslie, born at Madras 12th March, 1847, of whom presently.
- II. James Woodgate of Elderslie, born at Brighton 5th July, 1848. Was for some time a partner in the firm of Arbuthnot and Co. of Madras, but retired from it in 1884. He bought Elderslie from his brother George and married (September 26th, 1877) Annie Susan Charlotte, daughter of Sir Charles Jackson, Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, and has issue—

(1) Francis Sidney, Suffolk Yeomanry, born at Madras 26th November, 1882; served in the European War (Despatches twice);



James Arbuthnot of Invernettie (d. 1873).
From a portrait at Arbuthnot House, Peterhead.



Eleanor Ogilvy-Wills, wife of James Arbuthnot of Invernettie.
From a portrait at Arbuthnot House, Peterhead.

married (3rd September, 1912) Lillemor, daughter of Nicholas Halverson of Christiania, and widow of Christian Mohr.

- (2) Maurice Armitage (Captain), 16th Lancers, born 4th March, 1889; served during the European War. Was A.D.C. to General Sir Hubert Gough, K.C.B., 1915-18. Staff-Captain, 1918. (Twice mentioned in Despatches, 1915 and 1918. Awarded the Military Cross and the Croix de Guerre, 1917.) He married (7th August, 1915) Madeline, daughter of Sir Frederic Albert Bosanquet, K.C., Common Serjeant of London, and died 14th October, 1918, leaving issue: Rosalind Philippa, born 9th September, 1916.

- (1) Marion Fenn, born 15th October, 1878, married (20th April, 1901) Walter Prideaux, son of Sir Walter Prideaux, Clerk to the Goldsmith's Company, and has issue.

III. Herbert Robinson, born at Madras 8th January, 1851, married (10th November, 1880) Evelyn Mary, daughter of the Hon. Henry Lewis Noel, third son of Charles, first Earl of Gainsborough, and by her has had issue—

- (1) Ashley Herbert (Captain), 12th London Regiment (Rangers), born 21st August, 1884; served in the European War; was seriously wounded 4th May, 1915, and died in hospital 15th of the same month at Le Treport, France. He was buried in the Cemetery for British and Canadian officers and men at Le Treport.

- (2) Sidney Noel, born 23rd December, 1892, died 24th of the same month.

- (1) Evelyn Marion, born 26th August, 1881, married (1905) Nigel Hanbury of Green End House, Ware, and has issue.

(2) Mary Sybil, born 20th June, 1883, married Archibald, son of Colonel J. M. McNeile, R.E., and has issue.

(3) Frances Emily, twin with Mary Sybil.

IV. Ernest William, born 30th April, 1856, died 29th August, 1859.

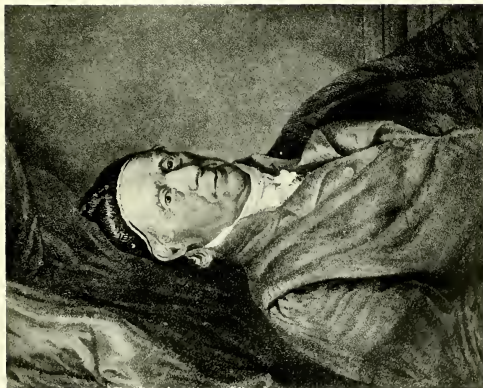
V. Lenox Conyngham (Major), Suffolk Regiment, born 21st October, 1860, married Mrs. Watling and has had issue—

(1) Stanley, R.A.F., killed in a flying accident 1st November, 1918.

(1) Aline, married (2nd January, 1919) Henry Montagu, son of Henry Ellis Dobson of Way Close, Reigate.

I. Emma Marion, born at Madras 4th November, 1845, died unmarried 12th September, 1859.

George Arbuthnot, third of Elderslie, eldest son of George Arbuthnot and Maria Thomas, was born at Madras, 12th March, 1847. He was educated at Brighton College, was in the school eleven, and while there (at the age of 16) was asked to play for the Gentlemen Players of Sussex. He was Ensign in the 53rd Shropshire Foot and later Lieutenant in the Scots Greys. He married (4th August, 1875) Mary Rose, eldest daughter and co-heiress of William Leslie, 11th Laird of Warthill, who had represented the County of Aberdeen in the Conservative interest in Parliament, and was a member of the Royal Company of Archers, the Sovereign's Body-Guard in Scotland. On the death of this William Leslie in 1880, George Arbuthnot assumed the surname of Leslie in addition to his own, his wife having succeeded to the lands of Warthill as heiress of entail. He was a Deputy-Lieutenant for the County of Aberdeen, and in 1895 succeeded his father in the estate of Elderslie, Surrey, which he sold to his younger brother, James, thus keeping it in the family. He died at Warthill 1st November, 1896, and was buried at Rayne, Aberdeenshire, the coffin being borne all the way to Rayne by relays of tenantry, who asked to be allowed to show this mark of respect for their late Laird. His place of burial is at no great distance from the spot where his far-away relative,



Charles Arbuthnot, Abbot of Ratisbon.
From an engraving by F. C. Lewis after G. Lewis.



Adam Arbuthnot, founder of the Arbuthnot Museum
 at Peterhead.
From a miniature in the possession of Mrs. Patrick Irvine.

James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, once owned a "fortalice," and conducted his feuds against the Leslies of those days.

Mr. and Mrs. Arbuthnot-Leslie left issue—

- I. William Douglas Leslie Arbuthnot-Leslie of Warthill, of whom below.
- II. George Rupert Arbuthnot-Leslie (Captain), Loyal Suffolk Hussars (Suffolk Yeomanry), born at Warthill 23rd August, 1883; served in the European War; Lieutenant, October 1914; at Gallipoli, 1915; Egypt, 1916; Palestine, 1917 (wounded at the second battle of Gaza, 14th April, that year); Captain, August 1917; in France and Belgium, 1918 (1914-15 Medal); while in Palestine acted as A.D.C. to Brigadier-General Angus McNeill, D.S.O., and was on Headquarters Staff, 74th Yeomanry Division.
- I. Aline Rose Arbuthnot-Leslie, born at Warthill 24th June, 1888. Served as a nurse during the European War. Was with the French Red Cross 1915-16, and with the Italian Red Cross 1916-17. Drove a motor ambulance throughout the Serbian Campaign of 1918, and was awarded the Serbian Gold Medal. She married (14th November, 1919) the Hon. Charles Fox Maule Ramsay, fifth and youngest son of John, thirteenth Earl of Dalhousie.
- II. Violet Seton Arbuthnot-Leslie, born at 30, Onslow Square 28th June, 1893.

William Douglas Leslie Arbuthnot-Leslie of Warthill, eldest son of George Arbuthnot and Mary Rose Leslie, heiress of Warthill, was born at 23 Hyde Park Gardens, London, 7th August, 1878. He succeeded his mother in 1900. Is Lieutenant (ret.) Scots Guards. Was A.D.C. to the Governor of Hong Kong from 1904 to 1907. Served in the South African War, 1899-1900, was present at the relief of Ladysmith, and the operations in the Orange Free State and Cape Colony, 1900 (Queen's Medal with three clasps).

SHEET A.

DAV

ROB

JAM

ROBERT ARBUTHNOT
(died 1606)

ANDREW ARBUTHNOT
of that ilk
(died 1606)

SIR ROBERT ARBUTHNOT
of that ilk
(died s.p. 1631)

JAM ARBUTHNOT
of ilk

SIR ROBERT ARBUTHNOT

(distinct)

ROBERT ARBUTHNOT
of Whitehill
(living 1679)

ROBERT ARBUTHNOT
Anne's Guard
(1733)

JOHN ARBUTHNOT
of Whitehill
(living 1709)

ROBERT, 2ND VISCOUNT
ARBUTHNOT
(died 1682)

(See Sheet B.)

ROBERT ARBUTHNOT
of Haddo-Rattray
(died 1756)

(See Sheet C.)

THOMAS ARBUTHNOT
of Keith Inch, Peterhead
(died 1790)

(See Sheet C.)

JOHN ARBUTHNOT
(died s.p.)

GEORGE ARBUTHNOT
(died 1711)

SIR ROBERT ARBUTHNOT, K.C.B.
(died 1853)

SIR JOHN LISTER-KAYE, = MATILDA
2nd Bart. (died 1811)

(LISTER-KAYES
of Deoby Grange,
Yorkshire)

GENERAL SIR CHARLES
GEORGE ARBUTHNOT,
K.C.B.
(died 1899)

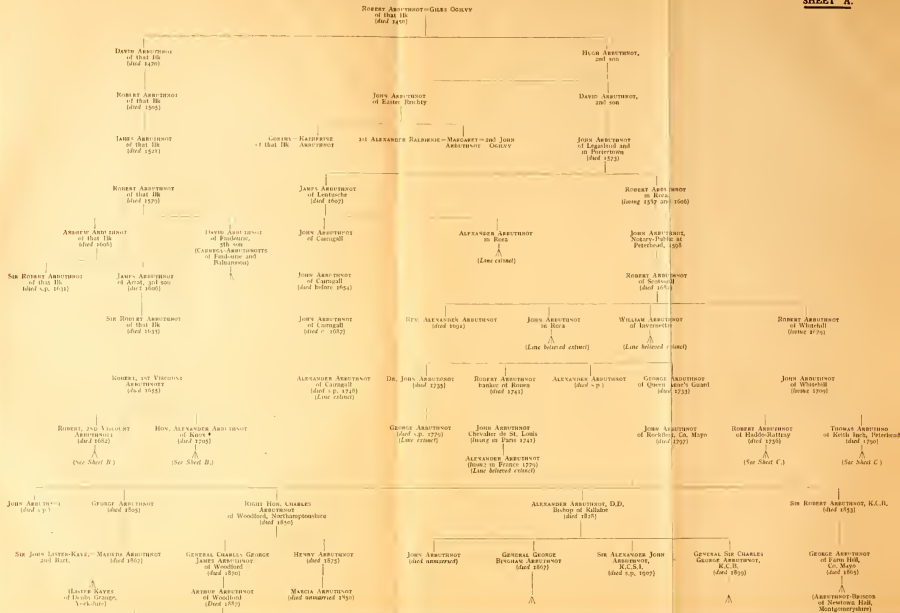
GEORGE ARBUTHNOT
of Farn Hill,
Co. Mayo
(died 1865)

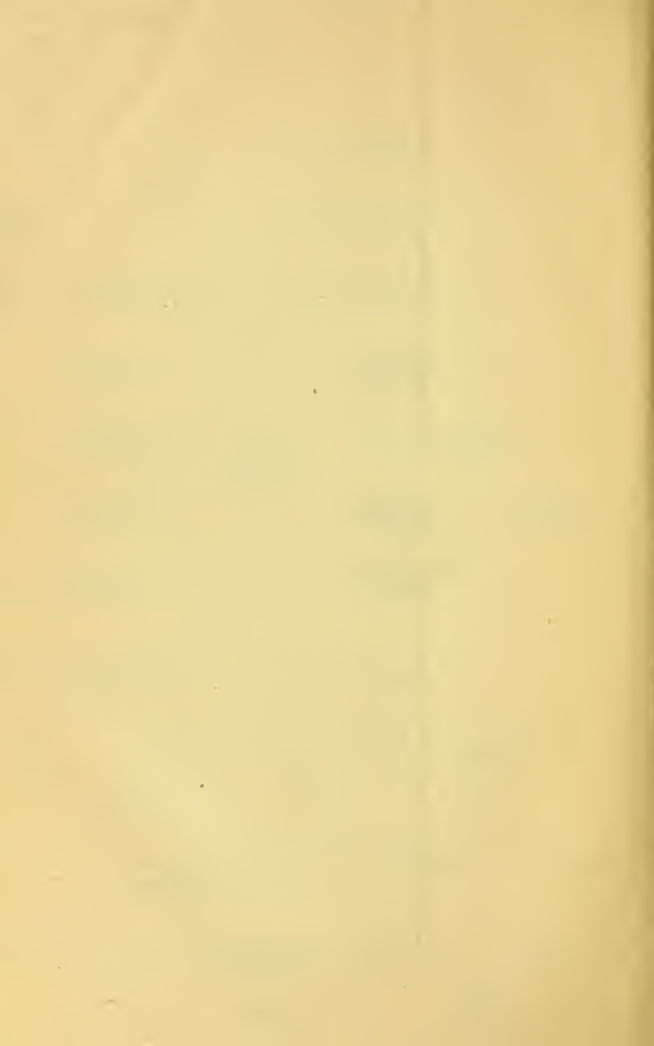
(ARBUTHNOT-BRISCONS
of Newtown Hall,
Montgomeryshire)

OUTLINE PEDIGREE OF THE ARBUTHNOT FAMILY.

(Wives' names are omitted owing to considerations of space.)

SHEET A.





APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

POEM BY THE REV. JOHN SKINNER ON THE DEATH OF JAMES,

ELDEST SON OF JAMES ARBUTHNOT OF WEST RORA

“ Another Farmer gone ! a favourite too !
Lord help us ! what can love or wishes do ?
O could 'gainst death our love or wishes plead,
To save the living or bring back the dead—
Then had not this dear friend for whom we mourn
Been weeks and months and years with anguish torn.
Torn thus away from fleeting hopes of life,—
From four fair Infants, and a blooming wife.—
From every virtue that delights mankind,—
From friendship's feelings and from social ties,—
Those earthly comforts of the good and wise ;
So soon beside a worthy father laid,
And now, like him, a much lamented shade ;
With deepest grief by wife and friends deplor'd,
To wife and friends no more to be restored :
But so Almighty wisdom has thought fit,—
The final stroke is struck and we submit.
Strangers, or Critics, if one such will deign
To read this plaintive but unlaboured strain,
Scorn not its plainness with disdainful eye,
Or read with sympathy, or pass it by,—
The artless muse but speaks her own distress
And who best knew my friend will say no less.”

APPENDIX II

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE PURCHASE OF CAIRNGALL IN 1591

(FROM *THE REGISTER OF DEEDS*, VOLS. 39 AND 40)

" 1591, December 1, Registration of a Contract dated at Aberdeen 21st May, 1591, between Sir Gordon of Petlurge, knight, on the one part, and James Arbuthnot of Ledintusch and John Arbuthnot, his eldest son and apparent heir, on the other part, wherein the said Sir John promises to infest the said John Arbuthnot and his heirs male and assignees in the town and lands of Carn gall and mill thereof lying in the barony of Kelle, Aberdeenshire, holding of the Earl of Mar, viz., the west third part of the lands wadset to James Maitland of Monlaitte for 1200 merks and another part thereof wadset to Mr. Richard Irving, burgess of Aberdeen, for 1000 merks ; with assignation to the letters of reversion by the said James Maitland and Mr. Richard Irving ; and disposing also the teinds of the said lands. The said James and John Arbuthnots shall redeem the said lands from these wadsetters for 10,000 merks, the superplus of that sum to be paid to the said Sir John Gordon. Witnesses are Mr. John Chein of Fortre, Mr. Samuel McGill in Balmedie, Mr. Robert Paip, advocate, George Seton of Auchinhuiff, Mr. Thomas Gordon and William Hay, notaries public. Signed, John Gordon of Petlurge knight, 'with my hand,' James Arbuthnot of Lentushe, John Arbuthnot of Legisland."

" 1592 June 16, Registration of Discharge by Sir John Gordon of Petlurg, knight, to John Arbuthnot of Carn gall for 4000 merks in full payment of the price of the town and lands of Carn gall in the barony of Kellie and parish of Peterugie, Aberdeenshire, contained in a contract between the said Sir John on the one part and the said John and James Arbuthnot, his father, on the other part, dated. . . . May last ; renouncing therefore his right to the said lands and the salmon fishing on the water of Ugie and other pertinents. Dated at Aberdeen 6th November 1591 ; witnesses being Mr. Richard Irving, bailie, burgess of Aberdeen, James Arbuthnot of Leduntusche, Mr. Robert Paip, advocate, Alexander Gordon, the discharger's servitor, and Mr. William Ray, notary public.

APPENDIX III

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO MARGARET ARBUTHNOT,

SUPPOSED DAUGHTER OF JOHN ARBUTHNOT, FIRST LAIRD OF CAIRNGALL

Although I have placed Margaret Arbuthnot on the pedigree as daughter of the first Laird of Cairngall, no absolute proof of this relationship is forthcoming, and I must mention that I have against me the opinion of a correspondent of unrivalled experience, whose judgment on such a point cannot be ignored. He has inclined to the view that Margaret was the daughter of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, and therefore sister, instead of daughter, of the first Laird of Cairngall.

There is a good deal of information available about Margaret Arbuthnot, though not exactly with reference to her parentage. We know that she was three times married, first to Patrick Johnston, (murdered in 1601 by Lord Glamis), by whom she had eight children, secondly (in 1603) to Alexander Cheyne, and thirdly to John Gordon. She was, then, in 1601, already the mother of eight children, and this fact led my correspondent to suppose that she would belong to an earlier generation than that of the first Laird of Cairngall's children.

On the birthbrief, facing p. 162, we find her marriage with her third husband recorded, and I have argued that she was by him the mother of Beatrix Gordon, who afterwards married Robert Arbuthnot of Scotsmill and was grandmother of Dr. John Arbuthnot. Strangely enough, this is not the only birthbrief on which Margaret Arbuthnot's name has been found. One was granted in 1655 to William Gordon, then residing in Poland, who descended through his mother from Margaret's first marriage with Patrick Johnston. This birthbrief, which is printed in the *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. v., p. 337, shows that the said William Gordon "is the lauchfull sone of the said James Gordon, procreat betuixt him and Jeane Johnstoun, his spous, who were lauchfull married persones . . . and that the said Jeane Johnstoun wes lauchful daughter to Patrik Johnstoun of Mostoune, in the parochine of Logibuchane, procreat betuixt him and Margret Arbuthnot, daughter to *James Arbuthnot of Carnegall*."

It will be noticed that she is here described as daughter of *James Arbuthnot of Cairngall*, and this will, perhaps, be held to support my correspondent's view. James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, who certainly had a daughter Margaret, was never "of Cairngall," though he was associated with his son John in the purchase of that estate in 1591, and the name James is not infrequently written in error for John in old records. The point really turns on the probable date of birth of the first Laird of Cairngall's children, and whether it is possible that a child of his could have had eight children by 1601. As regards this, we are practically without data, but I should like to point out that in 1590 John Arbuthnot, son of the first Laird, got the escheat of his father and grandfather, they being then at the horn.¹

On this occasion letters were obtained against him by William Leslie of Civilie, and as no procurators or guardians are named, this suggests, or rather establishes, that the younger John was of age in that year, and might easily have had a married sister at that time. It would seem strange if Margaret Arbuthnot should be mentioned in two separate birthbriefs as daughter of a Laird of Cairngall if her father were really James Arbuthnot of Lentusche, for on no other occasion do we find the latter referred to as "of Cairngall," and it would seem unlikely that he would be so remembered by his descendants. With regard to this, however, my correspondent remarked: "No appellation attached to him would surprise me, he seems to have had so many styles." Having, therefore, against me the opinion of a great expert, I must leave such readers as take an interest in the minute details of genealogy to form their own judgment upon the question.

The documents relating to Margaret Arbuthnot and her quarrels with her second husband's family are from the *Aberdeen Inhibitions and Hornings*, vol. 17, and run as follows:

"1614, February 15. Inhibition at the instance of John Bruce in Essilmont against Margaret Arbuthnot, widow of Alexander Cheyne in Halton of Bahelvies, for fulfilment of her Bond to the complainer dated 22 May, 1605, that her deceased husband's goods should be forthcoming to his creditors. John Gordon in Chapelton, now her spouse, is also charged.

"1614, March 11. Inhibition at the instance of Margaret Arbuthnot, widow of Alexander Cheyne, portioner of the lands following, and John Gordon in Chapelton of Essilmont, now her spouse, for his interest, against Isobel and Marjory Cheyne, sisters and heirs served and retoured to the said deceased Alexander Cheyne, and John Bruce at the Meikle Mill of Essilmont, spouse to the said Isobel, and James Johnston in Jakstoun, spouse to the said Marjory, for their interest, for fulfilment to the said Margaret Arbuthnot of the terms of a charter by the said deceased Alexander Cheyne to her in liferent on 9th July, 1603, (for

¹ See pp. 110-111.

the marriage then solemnized between them), of the said two thirds of the town and lands of Gray's Fortrie, and mill and mill-lands of Essilmont, called the Meikle mill of Essilmont upon the water of Ythan.

"1614, April 2. Inhibition at the instance of Isobel and Marjory Cheyne, sisters and heirs portioners to the deceased Alexander Cheyne, lawful son of the deceased William Cheyne in Essilmont, and John Bruce in Graiffortrie, spouse to the said Isobel, and James Johnston in Isaacstoun, spouse to the said Marjory, narrating Contract of Marriage dated at Aberdeen 23 June 1603 between the said deceased William Cheyne and the said Alexander, his eldest son, on the one part, and Margaret Arbuthnot, widow of Patrick Johnston in Halton of Bahelvies, for their marriage, containing an obligation on the part of the said Margaret to provide 2,000 merks of tocher and to fulfill certain other conditions."

APPENDIX IV

(AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES ARBUTHNOT, WRITTEN CLOSELY ON THIRTEEN SHEETS OF NOTEPAPER.)

MY FAREWELL.

TO MY FOUR BELOVED AND ALL MOST EXCELLENT CHILDREN.

I intend to be as brief as I can in what I have to say ; but as I had attained my eightieth year on the 14th March, 1847, and I am now writing at Woodford in the Evening of the 9th of December of the same year, it will be necessary if I say anything that it should be said at once, as I can have no long time to remain in this world.

My chief object in writing is to impress upon my children the signal and never-ceasing favours which through so long a life I have received from our most gracious and Almighty God.

It will be well, therefore, that I should begin from my earliest childhood ; and that I should say something of the family from which I am descended.

Three brothers of my name and family came to London from Scotland, belonging to a family of great antiquity in that Country. I so express myself with the intention of stating that the family had long been established in Kincardineshire, at a Place from which the family had originally taken its name. In all other respects, every family is equally ancient, as we are all descended from Adam and Eve, our first Parents.

One of the three brothers was Dr. Arbuthnot, well known in Queen Anne's time and justly celebrated for his wit and learning ; and above all for the great and universally acknowledged excellence of his Character. Another of them settled in France, after serving in Spain in support of the Stuart family, and is said to have gained a large fortune as a banker at Rouen, a considerable portion of which fortune being expended upon Scotch and English who had quitted this country on the fall of James the 2nd.

The third of the Brothers was named George, and he was my Grand Father. He was an officer in Queen Anne's Guards ; but on the accession of the House of Hanover, he threw up his commission, being, like the others of the Family, an adherent of the exiled Royal Family of the Stuarts. After quitting the Guards, he entered the service of the East India Company ; and going to China he there died, and left an only son, my father. My grandfather was married to a Miss Anastasia Robinson, whose sister had married the able but eccentric Earl of Peterborough.¹

My father, whose Christian name was John, was very young when my Grandfather died.

The Persons under whose care my father had been placed felt that the best mode of disposing of him was to educate him for Trade. This, from what I have heard of my father, was a mistake ; as I have understood that having very superior talents he was well calculated to succeed in the army or in one of the learned Professions. In trade he failed, as I shall have to relate hereafter. My father married a Miss Stone, whose father was a Banker, and her uncles were Mr. Andrew Stone and George Stone, the Primate of Ireland.

I may here mention that Mr. Andrew Stone was a man of great ability, had passed his life in the service of the Public, and was a great favourite of George the Third. I remember that George the Third told me that his regard for my uncle had been so great that he should ever be interested in my welfare.

The Primate, his brother, was a man of very superior abilities.

I now come to my own life, and without going into details I wish to shew how great my gratitude ought to be to our Almighty God for the signal acts of Grace and Favour which I have received from him. Not that I shall attempt to specify all or many of the instances, which would be too numerous for me to narrate ; though I meditate upon them, daily I may say, with unbounded gratitude to my Heavenly Father. But to proceed. When I was not above two or three years old, I was in bad health, and for change of air I went to reside for a time with my great Uncle, Mr. Andrew Stone.

I soon got into good health, and the carriage was brought to the door to take me back to my father's.

Whether it was that I had been treated at my uncle's with great kindness and indulgence, or from what other cause, certain it was that I cried most violently when I had to get into the carriage. Seeing me so unhappy at the thought of going away, it was resolved that I should remain with my uncle ; and I did remain with him till his death and with his wife afterwards till her death.

My uncle died when I was seven years old. I then went to a private school at Richmond. At that school I stayed till I was 12 years

¹ Mr. Arbuthnot has fallen into an error here. His grandmother was *Margaret* Robinson, and it was her sister, *Anastasia*, who married the Earl of Peterborough.

old ; and then I was sent to Westminster, and was placed in the 4th form. When I was fifteen, my aunt died. Her Picture is over the fireplace in my sittingroom. After her death, I continued with her Maiden sister, whose name was Mauvillain, originally a French Family. There was also living with her Mrs. Sarah Stone, a sister of my mother.

I ought here to mention that my Great Uncle, Mr. Andrew Stone, left me at his death £3,000, and with a request to his widow to leave more to me at her death, and she did leave me £20,000 ; which I was to receive at her sister's death.

I cannot pass over the very great kindness and affection with which to the day of his death my Great Uncle ever treated me : and with regard to his widow, my great aunt, I may truly say that throughout my whole life up to this day I have continued to have her in my mind with unceasing love and affection. She was, indeed, the very kindest of mothers to me.

I remained at Westminster till I was past 17 and then I went to Christchurch, Oxford.

I should now mention that so early as when I was at a private school at Richmond my father failed in his trading speculations, and he went to reside in France with his whole Family. The consequence was that I never saw my mother again, for she died abroad, nor did I see my Brothers and Sisters till they were some of them grown up, and till they came to England on their way to Ireland ; where my father was appointed Inspector General of the Linen Trade of that country. So that I never saw my mother after I was a child ; my father I only saw now and then, when he came alone for a short time (a few days) to England ; and my brothers and sisters I never saw till some of them were grown up.

I have said that at 17 I went to Oxford. I believe I was a pretty good scholar when I left Westminster, at least I remember being told by the Dean that the Tutor said I *handled* my Greek well. But alas, and I say it with sorrow and shame, while I was at Oxford, and I remained there 4 years, I passed my whole time in idleness and amusements. I lived there with a most agreeable set ; but unfortunately it was not the turn of those with whom I associated to read and study. It was intended that I should be a lawyer. But at the age of 21, I went with the late Duke of Dorset and with Mr. Tempest, a mutual friend at CH CH to the continent ; and passed some months at Vienna. These months were agreeably passed and in the best society ; but I did not return to England better disposed to the severe labour of the Law.

In the following year, I went with Mr. Frederic North, the youngest son of Lord North, so long prime Minister, first to Denmark and Sweden and then to Warsaw. He left me and went to Greece, but I remained in Poland and staid there till the Winter of 1789. Passing my time most

pleasantly in all the best of the society, and particularly living a great deal with Stanislaus, the last of the Kings of Poland.

On my return to England, I gave up all thought of studying the Law. I became intimately acquainted with men and women of the highest talent and rank, and whose society was delightful. In this manner I continued till I was between 25 and 26 years of age. I had often misgivings in my own mind and was dissatisfied with the idle life that I was passing.

The war against France broke out in 1793. I was then too old to think of studying the Law, but I was miserable at the thought of wearing life away in a state of perfect idleness. Therefore, when Lord Paget (now Marquis of Anglesey) got permission to raise a Regiment, The 28th of the line, I desired to have a commission in it ; and accordingly I entered as Ensign.—But my friends thought that at my age this step of mine was a bad one ; and one friend, Mr. John King, being very intimate with Lord Grenville, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, spoke to him and asked whether he could not give me some appointment. Lord Grenville said that the war had added so much to the business of the Office that he had intended to appoint a Précis Writer, and that he would give me the situation if I liked to have it. The salary, he said, would be small, being £300 a year ; but that the business to be performed would give me a great fund of information ; and would render me fit for higher situations.

I accepted the offer with great joy. I gave up all thought of the Army. I continued Précis Writer till 1795 ; and I then went as Chargé des Affaires to Stockholm—was there till 1797, and then came Home on leave. Till 1798 I was in London, unemployed, but then I was sent to Stuttgart to compliment the Grand Duke of Wurtemberg, who had recently married a daughter of our King George the Third, and who had just come to the Government of the Duchy on the death of his father.

The Duchy has since been erected into a Kingdom.

I returned to England in 1798 ; and in the following year I was married to your blessed mother. Of her I will not say much. Although I lost her after 7 years of the most perfect happiness, time has not had the effect of reconciling me to her loss. To me it was dreadful. To you all it has been a misfortune beyond what I could make known to you. A more perfect creature never breathed. One more fond of her Children this world never saw.—But on this subject I will say no more.

On my marriage I went in 1800 to Lisbon as Consul-General, and was in addition very soon Chargé des Affaires, as Mr. Walpole, the Minister, resigned and came away. I remained in Portugal till 1801 ; and then came to England on the appointment of Mr. Frere to be Minister.

I was soon appointed Minister in Sweden, and remained there till 1803 ; when Ld Liverpool, Secretary of State for foreign Affairs,

wrote to offer me to be Under Secretary of State in his office. I came home; and was Under Secy. of State till Ld Liverpool changed his department on Mr. Pitt's return to power.—I was then appointed Ambassador at Constantinople; but I came away in 1807 and joined Sir J. Duckworth below the entrance of the Dardanelles; went up in his Ship and with the Squadron under his command; and forced the Passage of the Dardanelles, destroying their fleet and their forts.

We were prevented by a total calm from advancing to Constantinople, and remained stationary in the Sea of Marmora for at least a week. In the meanwhile the Turks had erected strong Batteries. I fell very ill of a Rheumatic fever, and was near dying. Sir J. Duckworth thought that the state of the defences would render it impossible for him to succeed in an attack against Constantinople; and as soon as we had a fair wind he returned through the Dardanelles. This I declare in the presence of our Almighty God is the exact truth.

Had I been in health, I could not have obliged Sir J. Duckworth to undertake what he thought impracticable, but being very ill, and supposed to be in a dying state, I could give no opinion or advice. I have only to add that we had been induced to act against the Turks because they were allying themselves with France against Russia, who at that time was our Ally.

I have not adverted to the dreadful loss I sustained at Constantinople on the 24th May, 1806, by the death of your beloved Mother.

I will say no more respecting it; but of this be assured, that time has never reconciled me to the loss of her. If ever Human Being went to Heaven, She is now there.

I returned to England in 1807. I was unemployed till 1809. In that year I was appointed Secy. of the Treasury, and so I remained till the beginning of 1823, and was then named 1st Commissioner at the Woods and Forests.—In that situation I was till I resigned in 1827, on the appointment of Mr. Canning to be Prime Minister.

I was again at the Woods and Forests when the Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister quite at the commencement of 1828; but soon afterwards I was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. I was Chancellor till just the end of 1830, when the Conservative Government was broken up; and then my public life ended.

This is a brief outline of my life. Throughout the whole of it, the hand of God has been over me. I have referred to it in two instances. In the first, in my very early childhood. My being taken by my Great Uncle Andrew Stone was the cause of all my subsequent success; and here let me say that it enabled me subsequently to be of great service to Brothers, whom I had seldom seen and scarcely knew. I sent for my Brother Thomas; and was the cause of his advancement, though it was also owing to his own excellent conduct. To Robert I was not of equal use, as Ld. Beresford aided him in the early part of his military

life. But I got him the important Step of Lieut.-Colonel, and subsequently through me he was appointed to a good situation by the Duke of Wellington, when he commanded the Army of occupation in France, after the Battle of Waterloo and the Treaty of Paris. My brother Alexander I got Lord Liverpool to appoint to the Bishopric of Killaloe.

All this I have stated as instances of what I had been enabled to do in consequence of having been myself so greatly favoured by Almighty God.

And the other great and leading circumstance of my life was my being taken from a wretched state of idleness by Lord Grenville's appointment of me to a situation in his office. This I have ever considered as the hand of God interfering for me when in the high road to ruin and without which I could neither have had success myself, nor have aided any of my family.

But it is not merely in one or two instances—they have been innumerable—that I have seen and felt the protecting hand of the Almighty. And considering that I have only a plain Understanding, with I hope good common sense, I have felt the more grateful to God for the many and great favours which He has heaped upon me.

Had I been a person of brilliant talents, I might have ascribed to them what success I have had : but had not the Almighty favoured me and greatly too, I could have done nothing. Therefore to Him do I bow down in gratitude. I have it in my heart. I am full of thanks to God the whole day long.

And for nothing do I more offer up most grateful thanks than for His great goodness in having blessed me with four most excellent Children, and for the certainty I shall have when I quit this world that I leave those behind me who will be the inheritors of Eternal Salvation.

I have also to thank God for having given me many most excellent friends. I shall leave this world without ill will to anyone, but with the feeling that in addition to my good children I have also a number of good friends.

In the mercy of our Almighty Father, I have unbounded faith. The passage into another World is so awful that I can only hope to work out my salvation with *fear and trembling* ; but praying as I do to God for aid and help, and having as I have said the most unlimited faith in His Mercy and Goodness, I look forward with hope of the truest and sincerest kind. I can never be sufficiently thankful for the protection so signally vouchsafed to me in this life ; and through the Atonement of our Saviour Jesus Christ, I trust I may look forward for forgiveness of my great and manifold sins.

My best and beloved Children, farewell. Let us all pray that we may meet again in a happy Eternity.

CHARLES ARBUTHNOT.

P.S. I have in a very hasty and imperfect way traced out the leading events of my life. I have done it for the sake of you, my Dear Children,

in order to commemorate the signal protection and favour which I have received from Almighty God.

I have gone but little into my private life. I have referred to your excellent Mother as a subject deeply interesting to you all: but I have abstained from other subjects which would be mainly interesting to myself.

This, however, I will say. Although, like all others, I have been subject sometimes to unhappiness and miseries, it has been only on two occasions that I have suffered great affliction.

But all things in this world pass away. I should not now even wish to recall from the dead, my mind being bent on re-joining those who are gone before me.

CH^s. A.

P.S. 10th Dec^r. 1847.—I feel that I have very inadequately stated much of what I had wished to say. The other eight sheets were written by me very hastily after dinner yesterday evening. I should not have had time to say all that I had intended before going to bed, if I had not greatly hurried thro' the whole of the narrative.

In particular I am aware that I have very imperfectly explained all that I had to say respecting some of the Events of my Embassy at Constantinople.

It was a long story to tell, and I was anxious to conclude before going to bed.

I will not even now go into many details; but I must add a few lines to what appears in the preceding sheets.

During the latter period of my residence at Constantinople, the Turkish Government shewed evidently an unfriendly disposition towards Russia; and manifested it in particular by the displacement of the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, on the ground that they were in connection with the court of Petersburg.

I, as Ambassador of England, interfered; and by negotiation I prevailed on the Turkish Government to re-appoint the same persons as Hospodars. Unfortunately, this success was not known at Petersburg till the Russian armies were in march towards Turkey. On learning this, the Turkish Government ordered M. Italinsky, the Russian Minister, to quit Constantinople. I of course exerted myself to the utmost in support of the Russian interest, for I felt that otherwise Turkey would become united with France.

I had received intimation from London that L^d. Collingwood off Cadiz had been ordered to despatch an officer with a Squadron of some Ships of the Line to give weight and aid to my negotiations.

I found that my influence at the Porte, which had been very great, was gradually declining; the result of my giving all the support I could to M. Italinsky and the Russian interest. I felt that unless I put myself in conjunction with the English Squadron sent to aid me,

I could not in the existing temper of the Turkish Government have the remotest chance of success.

There was an English Frigate in the Harbour of Constantinople. I resolved to embark in that Frigate and to pass down the Dardanelles that I might join the English Squadron. But I had to provide for the security of all the English established in Constantinople; and it was necessary that I should act with caution and secrecy, as otherwise, should my intention become known to the Turkish Government, neither I nor they would have been allowed to depart.

I intimated to all the English to meet me on a certain day on board the Frigate; and when they arrived I explained to them my intentions; and taking them all with me, the Frigate sailed away.

I did join the Squadron, which was commanded by Sir J. Duckworth. —On account of contrary winds, we could not sail for the Dardanelles, and through them for Constantinople, for many days. At length, on the 23rd of Feb^y 1807,¹ we had a fair wind, tho' light, and we entered the Dardanelles. We were under fire from each fort as we passed it, for eight hours.—We destroyed all the forts, and the Turkish fleet also, which had been stationed to oppose us.

It was Evening before the firing was all over.—I went to bed while our Squadron was proceeding with a fair wind up to the Sea of Marmora. I was dressing on the following morning when, by the motion of the *Royal George*, on board of which I was, I perceived that she was laying to. I came out of my cabin to enquire the cause.

Sir J. Duckworth told me that he had made signal for the Captains of the Line of Battle Ships to come on board that he might consult them. This I thought a needless measure; but, however, the Admiral had called them and they came on board.

It was their unanimous opinion that before proceeding to further hostilities we should communicate with the Turkish Government. This therefore was done. But the loss of time, occasioned by laying to that the Captains might come on board the *Royal George*, was fatal to the enterprise. The wind in the meantime died away. That wind would have carried us up to the Walls—to the then undefended walls of Constantinople. We could never afterwards approach the Town nearer than eight or ten miles.

Of this the Turkish Government, under the guidance of General Sebastiani, the French Ambassador, took advantage, and erected strong batteries along the Coast.

On one occasion a fair breeze sprang up, and orders were immediately given to go aloft and to unfurl the Sails; but before they could be all unfurled the breeze died away, and we were again becalmed.

This was, I think, either two or three days after our arrival in the Sea of Marmora.

¹ It was actually the 19th.

Almost immediately afterwards, I was attacked and confined to my bed by a violent Rheumatic fever, which deprived me of all use of my limbs ; and the Surgeon on board gave me up as, in his opinion, my case was hopeless. Therefore I was unable to give any opinion to the Admiral ; or to remonstrate if I had thought it advisable, if indeed remonstrance could have had effect.

This I declare in the presence of Almighty God, before Whom I shall have hereafter to answer for every word I have here written, is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

It is merely necessary to add, that Sir John Duckworth being at length favoured by a wind fair to carry his Squadron back through the Dardanelles, and the defences of the Town being completed, he considered that all chance of success was lost to us by the utter impossibility of approaching the Town during the many days that we had been in the Sea of Marmora ; and he reluctantly resolved to re-tread his steps and to re-pass the Dardanelles.—Sir J. Duckworth might have so resolved correctly and wisely. I, in what was considered a dying state, could have no share in the determination, even supposing that if in good health I had been capable of giving an opinion on Naval matters. But I was not then equal to consultation or advice ; and the determination of the Admiral was entirely his own, in which I could not in my then state of health have had any part whatever.

The late Lord Grey was First Lord of the Admiralty when Sir J. Duckworth was ordered to proceed to the Dardanelles.

On my return to England I saw him frequently. Nothing could be more cordial or more friendly than his communications with me. He expressed his regret to me that he had not ordered Lord Collingwood up instead of deputing an inferior officer.

I mention this because the whole blame of the failure has been imputed to me in the House of Commons by Admiral Sir Ch^s. Napier.—I had long before left the House of Commons, and my public life was over. I did however think of rebutting the ungenerous and most cruelly unjust accusation.—But I refrained. On consideration, I could not but be aware that for the first time to enter into a controversy on a subject, on which I had of my own accord ever been silent, (the more painful and embarrassing as almost all who had been present were dead) would be ill received by the Public, as all its interests had long since been forgotten ; and as nothing ever does satisfy the Public but success, which in this instance had not been the case, but on the contrary entire failure.

The winds were adverse, or rather there was want of wind, and the result was failure ; but failure, I declare in words as solemn as I can utter them, in which I had not and could not, circumstanced as I was, have the slightest share whatever.

Lord Westmorland, then L^d. Burghersh, and a very young man, was on board the *Royal George*, and he must well remember the laying

to of the ship for the Captains to come on board ; he must also remember my severe and dangerous illness. Admiral Sir Bladen Capel is still alive. As he only commanded the *Endymion* Frigate I do not think that he was called on board ; but of this I am not sure. He must however have the same recollection that Lord Westmorland has of all the circumstances that I have stated. By reference to them, it would be known that my illness was so severe as to make it supposed that I was in a dying state.

I might also mention that to Dr. Goddard, an old friend of mine now alive, Mr. Thomas Grenville, who died recently, at a very advanced age, and was a member of the Whig Government after the death of Mr. Pitt ;—to Dr. Goddard I say Mr. Grenville declared that the subject of my Embassy to Constantinople being brought before the H. of Commons by Mr. Eden, now the Earl of Auckland, my justification of myself had been complete and had been so thought by all present.

I threw no blame on anyone, but I confined my explanations to a justification of myself.

I have been anxious to record for my Children the history of an important era in my public life. It is the first and only time that I have ever written a word upon the subject.

CHARLES ARBUTHNOT.

It has been far from my intention to cast blame on others.

Had I not been blamed, in my absence, most unjustly as I shall ever think, the silence so long observed would have been continued.

But although it was natural that I should justify myself when I had full means of justification, only on one single act have I commented.

I could not but feel that the loss of time in consulting the Captains was also the loss to us of that wind which would have crowned us with success. I knew that the Turkish Government was prepared to acquiesce in our demands when the fleet was first seen ; but that they took confidence to resist us when time had been given to complete all their batteries of defence.

CH. A.

P.S. 1849.—I have recently heard that after the Battle of Albuera Ld. Beresford offered to my brother Robert the rank of L^t.Colonelcy, but he preferred coming to England with the dispatch announcing that Victory. But certain it is that at the Horse Guards I was assured that that advancement was owing to my application.

C. A.

[That Mr. Arbuthnot contemplated the publication of the above narrative at some future time is evident from the following passage in a letter written to

his eldest son, 13th May, 1849: "You might shew what I have written (after my death) to Ld. Westmorland and Admiral Bladen Capel, for those two are the only persons of the Squadron who are, as I believe, still alive. . . . In all probability nothing more will be ever said on the subject. At all events you have, in what I have written, what I know to be a true statement of facts; and I leave my written justification in yr hands, to use it or not, as may be advisable."]

APPENDIX V

SUPPOSED DESCENT OF ADMIRAL MARRIOTT ARBUTHNOT

The place of Admiral Marriott Arbuthnot on the pedigree has always been a matter of doubt. It happens that some of Mrs. Arthur Arbuthnot's papers throw light upon this matter, and, having been supplemented by the research-work undertaken for me in London by Miss E. Fairbrother, we are now in a position to give a little more information about the Admiral's ancestry than has hitherto been the case.

The Admiral's father, it appears, was Robert Arbuthnot, who married at Wyke Regis Church, Dorset, 30th November, 1704, Sarah Bury of Weymouth, heiress of Melcombe Regis. On 6th March, 1712, we find the following entry in the baptismal registers of Wyke Regis: "Marriott, son of Robert and Sarah Arbuthnott." Although these are the only two entries found at Wyke Regis, the Admiral certainly had two brothers and a sister. His eldest brother, Richard of Melcombe Regis, was Surveyor under the Post Office at Weymouth. His will was proved 24th April, 1788.¹ He left only daughters. Another brother, Robert Arbuthnot, was in 1736 declared co-heir with Admiral Marriott Arbuthnot and others to their uncle, Richard Bury, brewer, of Melcombe Regis.² This Robert died unmarried and intestate, admonition being granted to his brother Richard in 1757.

As regards the parentage of Robert Arbuthnot, husband of Sarah Bury, that is a more difficult question. From my own researches I could throw no light on this, but Mrs. Arthur Arbuthnot's papers help us by showing what the Admiral's own impression was as to his descent. He seems to have believed his grandfather to have been the Rev. Robert Arbuthnot, minister of Crichton and Cranston, who married Margaret Kennedy, heiress in her issue to the Kennedys of Baltersan. This couple had three sons baptized at Cranston,—George, Charles and Alexander, in the years 1683, 1684 and 1686 respectively. No baptism of a son Robert is recorded at Cranston, but he might perhaps have been baptized elsewhere, perhaps before 1682, the year the Rev. Robert Arbuthnot came to Cranston. (There was certainly an eldest son Hugh, who was afterwards heir to his uncle, Hugh Kennedy of Baltersan

¹ *P.C.C. Calvert*, 171.

² *Chancery Proceedings*, 1714-58, 619/2.

in 1722).¹ It will probably be safe to assume that Admiral Marriott Arbuthnot would be correct as to his grandfather's identity, and if so, we shall next wish to ascertain the place on the pedigree of the Rev. Robert Arbuthnot. The only knowledge we have as to the Admiral's own views comes from allusions in the letters of a Mr. Charles Gordon in 1792, when he was conducting researches into the Arbuthnot pedigree at Edinburgh, which letters are among Mrs. Arthur Arbuthnot's papers. From these it would appear, if the inferences I draw from them are correct, that there was in the Admiral's family a tradition regarding the estate of Caterline, and this seems to have led Mr. Gordon to suppose that the descent lay through Simon Arbuthnot of Caterline (p. 67). This, however, does not seem probable, and I should like to suggest instead that the Rev. Robert Arbuthnot, minister of Cranston, was the same person as "Mr. Robert Arbuthnot,"—son of Robert Arbuthnot of Caterline (p. 57),—who inherited that estate and sold it in 1669 to his cousin Simon. This "Mr. Robert Arbuthnot," mentioned in his mother's will in 1690 as "at the Kirk of Fordoun," cannot, of course, be proved to have been afterwards minister at Crichton and Cranston, and I can only lay it before the reader as a suggestion. No Robert Arbuthnot was ever minister of Fordoun, so that any connection with that kirk must have been merely temporary, but we may notice that one of the references given by Hew Scott for his account of the Rev. Robert Arbuthnot is to the "Fordoun Visitations."²

The Admiral seems also to have mentioned, as his great-uncle, a certain David Arbuthnot of Weymouth, who, between 1680 and 1687, recorded his arms in the Lyon Court, as being descended of the third son of the Arbuthnot family, his great-grandfather. "Mr. Robert Arbuthnot," son of Robert Arbuthnot of Caterline, certainly had a brother David, and they were great-grandsons of Alexander Arbuthnot in Pitcarles, third son of Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk and Christian Keith.

The Admiral, who died in 1794 and was buried at Wyke Regis, had two sons—John, Governor of North Yarmouth, and Charles, who predeceased his father.³ Charles left a son John, of whom nothing is known, but who presumably died young, for Governor John Arbuthnot describes himself as "the last of his race" in a tablet he erected to the memory of his father, in Wyke Regis Church. The line of Admiral Marriott Arbuthnot must, therefore, be taken to be wholly extinct. His own long and honourable career is fully treated in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹ Services of Heirs for Scotland.

² *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, by Hew Scott.

³ Admiral Marriott Arbuthnot's will.

APPENDIX VI

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARIES OF GEORGE ARBUTHNOT,

FIRST OF ELDERSLIE, SURREY

George Arbuthnot of Elderslie seems, throughout his life, to have kept a careful and methodical record of the private and public events through which he lived. Passages of his Diary have been quoted in the account we have given of his career, but, for want of space, much has been omitted there, and it has been thought that to furnish a few more extracts in the form of an Appendix, would be of interest to members of the family, and also to others who may like to study the details of a long and well-spent life of two generations ago. As has been related, George Arbuthnot, then a young man of twenty-nine, went out to Ceylon with his brother Robert in 1801, sailing in the *Henry Dundas* under escort, owing to the war with France. An odd volume of diary kept by George Arbuthnot during this voyage was apparently given by him years later to his youngest son, William Reiersen, and, still later, was given by the latter to his eldest surviving son, my husband. Many other volumes, of a much later date, written after his return from India, are now at Warthill, in the possession of Mr. William Arbuthnot-Leslie. The intermediate volumes seem to have been lost, and have been enquired for in vain in the family.

In the hope that this diary will be of interest to some of the descendants of George Arbuthnot, it has been decided to quote it at considerable length. It commences before their departure from England, on Saturday, 18th April, 1801, as follows :

“ Breakfasted with my Brother at our Lodgings in Suffolk Street, and remained there, finishing the Packing up of our Cloaths &c. till Eleven A.M. Then made the following visits, viz^t Lord and Lady Hardwicke and Alexander Davidson in St. James’ Square, then the Pay Office, Somerset Place, the Leslies, Mr. Coutts’, Lady Margaret Fordyce, Lady Charlotte Lindsay and Lord and Lady Glenbervie. After which I went to Harley Street, where Robert likewise came.

My sister and I went and called for a few minutes at Mrs. Ross's, where I met with the Todds. We then returned to Harley Street, and remained there until 3 o'clock, when we took leave of my father, mother, Jane and Mrs. Keith. . . . At our lodgings we were joined by John and Coutts Trotter and Frank Laing, who at 5 o'clock saw us off in a Post Chaise for Portsmouth. We changed Horses at the Castle Inn at Kingston, and arrived at Cobham about 8 o'clock, where we determined to stop for the night. The inn is not good.

" Sunday, April 19th. Set off from Cobham at 6 A.M. and came to Guilford, where we breakfasted. Fell in here with John Maitland's Curricule. From Guilford to Liphook, an excellent Inn, and where (should I travel this road again) I shall take up my night's quarters. From Liphook to Petersham, where my Brother visited his old military Quarters. From thence to Horndean, and then to Portsmouth, where we arrived about 4 o'clock,—and drove to the George. . . . After dinner I went and secured Lodgings at the House of a Mr. Casher, a wine-merchant in the High Street, where we got 3 good Rooms and a Servant's Room for 26 Shillings a week.

" In the Evening our Servants arrived by the Stage Coach. Wrote to my mother and to L^d Glenbervie.

" Monday, 20 : April. . . . Before Dinner this day, we took a Boat, and together with Erskine and Wood went on board the *H^y Dundas* at the Mother Bank, where we found things nearly in as much Confusion as when we saw her at Gravesend, and the space allotted for our Cabin choaked up w^t a variety of Trunks, Cases and parcels: Mr. Gray, the Chief Off^r, promised to get our Birth cleared to-morrow, and the canvas of the Cabin set up, on which we left him. . . .

" Tuesday, April 21st. Rec^d Letters from my mother, L^d Glenbervie, Coutts Trotter and Frank Laing. After breakfast, went . . . on board the Admiral's Barge, in which we rowed up Portsth Harbour, and passed a number of Old Men-of-War, now employed as Prison and Hospital Ships: arrived at Porchester, we landed close to the Castle, and walked first through the Barracks, which are airy and Commodious. We then entered the Castle walls, the whole area of w^h now serves as a depôt of Prisoners of war; the number at present Confined in this place is 4,400, and they are almost all French sailors. They are guarded at pres^t by the North Lincoln and Dorsetshire Regt^s of Militia; an officer of the latter conducted us thro' the Prison, we were like to be devoured by Beggars, and by solicitations to purchase Toys, made of Bones and straw, many of them curious and engenuous. —On the whole, the Prison seemed to me a place of great misery and wretchedness: on our return, and having the wind fair, we sailed down the Harbour and landed at the Dock yard, which we walked over, and went on board several ships of war, particularly *Le Guillaume Tell*, now the *Malta*, and *Goliah*, both 74's, and the *Dreadnought*, a three Decker. From the Dock yard we went to the Telegraph which

was then at work and (as we afterwards learned) was in the act of receiving orders for the *Arethusa* to get ready to sail on Thursday morning with the ships for Bengal, Madras and China. . . .

"Wednesday, April 22nd. After settling accounts . . . came on the *H^y Dundas* at the Mother Bank. Here we found most of the Passengers already established, as also John Maitland, who came to see and take leave of Campbell, our 2nd off^r. The first thing that occupied us was to get the Cabin put in order, in doing which we perceived that many things were wanting to our Comfort and convenience; this circumstance determined me to take the opportunity of the *Dart* cutter, then going to Gosport, to return to the shore, and get the assistance of Mr. Kitson in making the purchases I wanted.

"It was 9 o'clock P.M. before I reached Gosport and I was so unlucky as to find that Kitson was not at home; I was, however, very kindly rec^d by his wife and sister, who assisted me in getting the things I had to buy, and even made me a present of a very handsome Shade Lamp.—At Eleven o'clock I went to Bed, without seeing Kitson, and determined to set off next morning at 6, at w^h Hour Adm^l H. and Mr. P. promised to meet me in the *Dart*.

"Thursday, April 23rd. I rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 o'clock and walked out. A boatman told me that the *Arethusa* had made the Signal to get under way at Day break, and that the Fleet was now unmoored and actually getting up their Sails. I returned to Mr. Kitson as fast as I could, and wondering what had become of the *Dart*, prevailed on him to cross over to Portsmouth with me. We got into a Boat, he having sent his serv^t w^t all my purchases to wait for us at the Point, when in the middle of the Harbour we saw and hailed the *Dart*, w^h had no sooner taken me on board than Adm^l Hamilton, in great agitation, told me I ran the greatest chance of losing my passage, and it was very doubtful if the *Dart* could overtake the Convoy—we set off under all the Sail that this little S^p could carry, leaving Mr. Kitson to go on shore for the things, with which he promised to follow me in a cutter of his own, or in the Pilot Boat; but he never appeared. In an hour (i.e. 8 A.M.) we reached the *Henry Dundas*, she having lain to for us. . . .

"Our voyage might now be said to have fairly commenced.—We passed thro' the Needles at 9 o'clock, and sailed down Channell with a fine Breeze at N.E., and very pleasant weather. . . ."

Writing on Saturday, 25th, Mr. Arbuthnot gives the following account of his fellow-passengers:

"I could now begin to form some sort of judgement of the Characters and dispositions of my Brother and Sister Passengers. Colonel and Mrs. Carleton are about 28 or 30 y^{rs} old; he is the eldest son of Lord Dorchester, and is going to join his Reg^t in Bengal; he is an handsome and Gentleman-like man, very Civil and well bred; but he seems to be somewhat melancholy and is extremely reserved and silent.—Mrs. C.

was Miss Belford : she seems rather Older than the Colonel, she is handsome, lively and agreeable, and by no means resembles her Spouse in reserve and taciturnity, they both appear to have lived in good Comp^y but neither have ever read a Book.—Col. Garstin and his Lady have resided in India during a great part of their Lives, and from the little I have as yet conversed with them, seem to have borrowed all their ideas from that part of the world, at least all their ideas of perfection, for, to hear the Col. speak, one would imagine Bengal to be Paradise, and England little better than Purgatory. Mrs. Garstin appears to be a notable, and in many respects a sensible woman, but (like her husband) very little acquainted with the world—of England,—however well she may be so with that of the East.—She seems to carry her ideas of strictness and propriety to a greater length than either prudence or virtue require, at least, so I am disposed to think from her averseness to the young Ladies who are under her Care, dancing or otherwise amusing themselves.

“ Miss Carruthers is a relation of the Captain’s and niece to Sir Robert Lawrie. She seems to be about 28 y^s old, and is a sedate and quiet-like woman.

“ Miss Alicia Boileau is Irish, but has hardly any of the Brogue ; she is a clever and good humoured Girl, not much acquainted with the world, nor has she ever been in good Comp^y, but seems to have read a good deal.

“ Her Sister, Miss Maria Boileau, is just 17, a good natured, Plump, Little Irish Girl, with a strong Brogue, and the most perfect ignorance of the world and its ways.—I have been placed at Dinner between the Miss B’s, and can therefore speak the better to their character.

“ Miss Mercer, Miss Atkins and Miss Pattle ; of these Ladies I can say little, as I have not had much opportunity of Conversing with them. Miss Mercer is about 17, not pretty, but good humoured, perfectly naive, et par consequent interessante ; she is from India, and seems to have a Shade of black blood in her. She has been brought up in Lancashire, and has contrived to imbibe, in great purity, the Accent of that County.

“ Miss Atkins is also a half Cast East Indian, she has a very neat little Figure, but the beauty of her Countenance is unluckily injured by a certain inflammation about the point of her nose which serves to give her an appearance somewhat Choleric.

“ Miss Pattle has hardly made her appearance on Deck, so I am able to say nothing of her, except that I hope the beauties of her mind exceed those of her person.

“ Among the male Passengers there seems to be a variety of characters, as may naturally be expected. . . .”

“ Sunday, 26.—Pleasant weather and light Breezes, in the afternoon nearly Calm.

" Mon. 27. The Calm still continues and is not terminated until 2 p.m., when a fine breeze at S.S.E. springs up and Carries us past the Bay of Biscay.—After Dinner, some of the young men got aloft upon the Shrouds, and were followed by the Sailors who made them fast Neck and Heels, and kept them so until they had paid their forfeit, or promised to pay it in grog.

" Tu. 28th. A fine breeze and delightful weather, our ship seems to have fallen off in her sailing, for she now lags astern of the Fleet. The *Arethusa* had two Chaces to-day, first after a vessel which proved to be an English S^p of war, and then a small B^e, with which we could not come up. . . .

" Wed. 29. . . . The Cow became sick to-day, and gave no milk.

" Thur. (May) 7. During the night a fine Breeze sprung up and Continues. Got the Trunks on Deck, and all hands (of Passengers) busily employed in looking out smart Cloaths for Madeira, which we expect to see to-morrow. . . . ; men placed at the Fore and main mast Heads to look out."

The following day they reached Madeira, and Mr. Arbuthnot writes : " At 6 P.M. we came in sight of Funchall, the Principal Town, the view of which is beautiful and Picturesque. At 8 P.M. we came in to the Road of Funchall, and while preparing to cast anchor, were fired upon from a Fort called the Loo Rock. Capt. C.¹ ordered Mr. Campbell to go on Shore in the Cutter, and my Brother accompanied him. They waited on Mr. Pringle, the Br. Consul, and on the Gov^t, Dom. Manuel de Camhara, who gave permission for us to Anchor immediately, altho' Contrary to the Orders of his Gov^t, which direct that no strange ship shall anchor in the Road of Funchall after Sun Set. It was near midnight before the boat returned, and Capt. Carruthers w^d not then avail himself of the Gov^{ts} Permission, but stood off Shore until morning."

The following day the ship entered the port, and a Mr. Wardrop " of the House of Murdoch, Masterson and C^o," came on board and invited George Arbuthnot and his brother to take up their abode in his house on shore for a time. They gladly accepted the offer, and " passed the evening very comfortably, and slept luxuriantly in a large, airy room."

Concerning the natives of Madeira, Mr. Arbuthnot writes : " The People at Madeira are of a very swarthy or rather Yellow Complexion, and like most mountaneers, they are strong and active, indeed their powers in ascending and descending Hills even exceed those of any Scotch Highlanders I have seen. The Countrymen wear a blue jacket, wide Cotton or Linen Drawers, and Boots made of Brown Leather, dressed by themselves ; they wear on their head a small blue Cap, with little red Ears, and Carry a large Staff in their hand with a long Pike in the end of it. The female Peasants have nothing to boast of either

* Captain Carruthers, of the *Henry Dundas*.

in regard to Beauty or Cleanliness, they are in general Shocking looking Creatures, and those even who have in their early Youth any thing like a pleasing Countenance, lose it before they arrive at the age of Twenty. —From what I could learn and observe, the Ladies of this Island, both single and married, are not very scrupulous or straight-laced, and if their Charme be not very Captivating, they try to Compensate by the Liberality with which they deal out their favours. This I say from y^e report of others and from what I could observe of their manners, and not from experience, therefore I may perhaps, in entertaining this idea, do the fair (say black) creatures injustice."

The following day, Sunday, the 10th May, he writes: "After breakfast, a party of us went to hear High Mass at the Cathedral, after which we visited several other Churches, at one of which there is a Chapel, the inside of which is lined throughout with human skulls and thigh bones.—After this I dressed in Black, with Sword and Cocked Hat, and in this Guise waited on the Governor, along with Captain Carruthers and Cols. Carleton and Garstin. We were very politely received by his Exc^y, and Conversed with him in French; he informed us of Wednesday next being the Birthday of the Prince of Brazil, when there w^d be Te Deum sung, and that on the Sunday following there w^d be a fête at the Palace to which he desired our Comp^y. From the Gov^{ts} we proceeded to the Consul's, with whom I had some acquaintance in England. . . ."

On Wednesday, 13th, Mr. Arbuthnot writes: "This being the Birthday of the Prince Regent of Brazil was observed as a Holliday. The *H^y Dundas* and *Preston* dressed their Colours early in the morning, the Union Jack at the main and Portugeuze Flag at the Fore top mast head. Early in the forenoon, I went with the Ladies to the Church of the Convent of Santa Clara, to witness the Profession of a Nun.

"This Ceremony is the last which a Novice goes through, and with it she begins to wear the black veil. The church was handsomely decorated, and the floor laid with Carpet of English manufacture, and that was strewed with Flowers; at one end stood the altar, at the other was the Grate, and beyond it the Chapel of the Convent, in which the nuns appeared. After mass, the priests advanced in Procession to the Grate and administered the Sacrament to the young nun, who then began her Professⁿ, which she sang. When she had ended her vows, two of the old nuns placed a small Crown of Flowers upon her Head, and then, Conducted by these 2 elderly Ladies, she went round the Chapel and embraced the whole Sisterhood. I happened to be placed next the Brother of the young nun, who took me to the parlour after the Ceremony was over and introduced me to his Sister, her name was 'Maria Antonia de Camara,' her age 16, of a very dark Complexion, but with fine Black Eyes, and beautiful teeth, on the whole a pleasing and interesting Countenance. . . . When I returned

from St. Claire, I had little more than time to dress in order to attend the Ladies to the Cathedral. The Bishop had ordered Seats to be placed for them immediately below the great altar. Soon after we were placed, the Gentlemen of the English Factory entered in Procession, and then came the Governor and his Suite. His Exc^y dressed in scarlet, trimmed with Gold Lace about 3 Inches Broad, a Chapeau plume, and a magnificent Cane with a diamond head in his hand. He placed himself on the left of the Altar, while on the right sat the Bishop on a kind of Throne under a Canopy.—‘Te Deum’ was then sung, and in the middle of it there was a Royal Salute from some field Pieces placed at the Church Door, and also from the Ships in the Road, which had been joined an hour before by the *Arcthusa*, and Captain Wolley came into the Cathedral. . . .”

“Sat. 16th May. On board ship the greatest part of the morning, getting dresses for my Brother and self to appear at the Governor’s Ball to-morrow. As I returned on shore, I met Captain Wolley, who asked me to dine with him and some Friends on board the *Arcthusa*, which I did, and had a very agreeable little party and an excellent dinner ; it was the more agreeable to me that it was the first day since my departure from England that I had sat down to a Table of less than 20 Covers. . . .”

On Sunday, the 17th, the Governor’s ball took place. Mr. Arbuthnot writes : “ Captain Wolley, with 2 of his midshipⁿ and my Brother and I dined at ‘val Formosa,’ with Mr. and Mrs. Murdoch and Mr. and Mrs. Masterton. We returned to the Town and dressed Cap-à-pee, and then proceeded to the Palace.

“ The Assembly was already numerous, and the entertainment begun. It opened with a Concert (very ill performed) in which some fat friars were the Principal Singers. The music done, we went to an other apartment, where there was a Ball, at which nothing was danced but English and Scotch Country Dances. The Portuguese Ladies, as well as ours, were rigged out in all their finery, and they displayed a great number of diamonds,—but they were in general Dowdy looking figures and had universally their Hair bedaubed with Powder and Pomatum. I wished to hear something of their Conversation, and with that view attached myself to Two genteel like women about 30, who did not dance ;—with them I got well acquainted, and found them both good natured and lively. The one of these Ladies was *Donna Maria*, the wife of a Gentleman present, and the other was *Donna Anna*, the widow of Dom ‘Lewis de Caravalha,’ the greatest Seigneur of the Island, whose estate is estimated at £12,000 st^g a-y^r. He died about 2 years ago and was succeeded by his Brother, Dom Juan de Caravalha, a genteel young man of about 25, who was present, and who spoke to me in very good English. Donna Maria spoke a little French, by the help of which, joined to my few words of Portuguese,

we Contrived to keep up a Conversation.—About 12 o'clock, Supper was announced, and we all proceeded to a very long Room or Gallery, in which there was a Table with 300 Covers, and really a very elegant Repast. The Gov^r, the Bishop, Mrs. Carleton, Miss Boileau, and 'Donna Louisa,' a Portuguese Lady (with whom the Gov^r is said to be in Love) sat at the Top of the Table, and next to them were Donnas Maria and Anna, between whom I was placed. After Supper we were conducted to a Room in the form of a Grotto, with a model of Parnassus in the Middle, and on the 4 sides were placed the Busts of Homer, Virgil, Milton and Camoens. Round the room, on the wall, were Portuguese Inscriptions in honour of the Prince, and at the Foot of the Mountain, instead of the Waters of Helicon, there flowed some 'right Marisquino,' which the Gov^r dispensed to all around. Silence was then Commanded, and a Poet recited some verses Composed for the occasion, the Text of which he took from one of the Inscriptions on the wall, which began with 'Do Nome Augusto,' and w^h 3 words seemed to be the burthen of the song. The Poet was much applauded; he was followed by two others, with one of whom the Gov^r seemed so much delighted that he administered to him with his own Hand a draught of the Cordial from the Sacred Mount, which the Author swallowed with as much zeal and fervour as if the Beverage had actually issued from Hippocrene or Helicon. We returned to the Dancing Room and I placed myself again between my 2 Donnas, they were so kind as to invite me to their respective Houses, but I could not avail myself of their goodness, I therefore kissed their hands and took leave.

"Mon. 18th. At Day Break the *Arethusa* loosened her Top Sails and hoisted *Blue Peter*. At 10 A.M., we took leave of Mess^{rs} Masterton and Wardrop and, with Capt. Carruthers and some of the Ladies, embarked in the Cutter at the 'Loo,' and Came on board the *H^y Dundas*.—At noon we got up our Anchor, and stood off and on, waiting for the Signal to get under way. At this time Several Shot were fired at us from the Loo and another Battery, one of these struck the Cutter, which we were hoisting in and narrowly missed 2 men who were in the Boat at the time. Capt. C. sent his Second Officer to report this wanton outrage to Capt. Wolley, who went immediately on shore and represented the matter in proper terms to the Gov^r, who assured him that such an insult was very Contrary to his orders and wishes, and that by way of redress he should order the officer who had Caused the firing into immediate Confinement.—The occasion of the firing (at least the reason alledged by the officer) was that we were getting under way without having been visited by the Officer of Health and Captain of the Fort, to see that no Deserters from the Island were on board, altho' we were at the time of the firing lying to with backed Top Sails.—By the delays of the *Preston* (our East India Consort) we did not get under way till 6 P.M. . . .

" Tuesday, 26 May.—Captⁿ Wolley came on board, and after paying us a visit of an Hour, returned and took my Brother with him to the *Arethusa* ; on their way thither they paid a visit to the *Preston*. . . .

" Fri. 29. . . . At 2 P.M. the *Arethusa* spoke us ; I was writing in my Cabin from whence I saw my Brother sitting in the great Cabin of the *Arethusa* ; I was much surprised and distressed to hear from Captⁿ Wolley that Robert had been attacked by a violent fit of Rheumatism and was then confined to the sofa on w^h I saw him. I would have fain gone to join him that day, but as Captⁿ Wolley did not propose it, I could not.

" Sat. 30. . . . At 3 P.M. the Commodore spoke us and Captⁿ Wolley informed that my Brother still continued ill, and asked me to come on board the *Arethusa* after Dinner.—I did so at 6 P.M., in the Jolly Boat with Campbell, and found Robert very much indisposed indeed, and quite unable to move. Captⁿ Wolley insisted on my remaining all night, and sent Mr. Campbell back in the Boat.

" *Arethusa*, June 31st. The weather rather unsettled and showery. Robert in great pain from the Rheumatism, and some degree of Fever, but not high ; he is most assiduously attended by Dr. Bain and Mr. Williamson the mate, and kindly nursed by Captⁿ Wolley himself, so that except the Satisfaction of being near my Brother, I am really of no use to him.—At 10 P.M., the Ship's Comp^y were all assembled on the Q^r Deck, when Capⁿ Wolley performed Divine Service, the People were all clean and well dressed, and the Marines (36 in number) were in their full uniform, and looked as well as the Guards on the Parade at St. James's. There was something very pleasing and even affecting in the extreme decency of this Congregation, and never did a clergyman no, nor a Bishop, read the Service with more pathos and effect than he who now performed the office. Nothing can present a more striking Contrast than the state of the two ships, *H.D.* and *Arethusa* ; in the one, noise, tumult, Crowd and Dirtiness, in the other, quiet, tranquillity, ample room and Cleanliness. Here there is neither Cursing, swearing or bawling, when a manoeuvre is to be performed, the officer of the watch gives his Command, and it is no sooner given than executed, without another word being said, or even the usual Cries made by Sailors in hauling a Rope to give the time to their Associates. Indeed the whole of Captⁿ Wolley's System seems to be an admirable mixture of kindness and Coercion. He has, to be sure, had the same Ship and the same Crew for six years, a Circumstance which has enabled him to mould his plan of discipline exactly to the Character and disposition of his People, he is intimately acquainted with every man in the Ship and according to that he punishes and rewards. . . .

" Mon. 1st. June. This Morning my Brother was a little easier, but still unable to move ; when I proposed returning to the *H.D.*, Captⁿ W. told me that I might go there, but it must only be for an Hour, as he wished me to Continue with my Brother on board his

Ship. I came accordingly in his Jolly Boat and procured some shirts etc. In a long Voyage there is an Uniformity (I do not say ennui, for I have felt none) which makes the least change of scene appear like a great event; on my return to our own Ship this day, the two that I had passed in the *Arethusa* appeared equal to as many weeks, and I felt quite happy to see again my friends on board. After passing an Hour with them and procuring a few changes of Linen and some Books, came back to the *Arethusa*. . . .

"Tues, 2nd. Light airs and fine weather, Ther. 81°, very Hot, obliged to shorten sail for the *Preston*, the *H.D.* is rather a-head of us.

"Wed. 3rd June. At day break, the Master, being on Watch, reported to Captⁿ W. that he could see nothing of the Convoy, the weather being Hazy. We immediately fired several Guns, and were presently answe^d by the *H.D.* a-head of us, the *Preston* greatly astern.

"Thursday, 4. The King's Birthday was celebrated by us in a very quiet and orderly manner, being marked by no difference from other days than a Bumper to His Majesty's Health after dinner, and an Extra bottle of Spruce in the Evening: It was Not so in the *H.D.*: there I understand much Mirth, Jollity (and some little intoxication among the Cadets) prevailed, and in the Evening they Came within hail of us and gave us God Save the King in full band and a Chorus.

"Fri. 5. I did intend to go this day on b^d the *H.D.*, but at 10 A.M., just as I was Setting out, the wind sprung up and Captⁿ W., being anxious to take advantage of the Breeze, I postponed my visit and we made Sail. . . .

"Sat. 6. My Brother still Continues Confined to the Sofa and suffers occasionally severe pain; Dr. Bain is now of opinion that his Complaint has more of Gout than Rheumatism. Robert's general health seems good, which is my chief Comfort. At 3 P.M. made the Signal for the *H.D.* to Come near us. At 4 I went in the *Arethusa's* Jolly boat on board, and through the awkwardness of the Midshipman, (Mr. Edgar), who steered, very near missed the Ship and ran astern, and w^h only the activity of my friend Campbell prevented our doing. . . . Having announced to Captⁿ Carruthers and all the Company Capⁿ W.'s intention of parting Convoy on Tuesday next, and desired them to get ready their Letters for England, I took my Leave, but Could not get out of the Ship until a Signal was made from the Frigate for the Boat to return. On my way back, I saw two birds called Petterals, or more commonly by the Sailors, 'Mother Carey's Chickens'. . . .

"Tues. 9. This Morning about 1 o'clock we crossed the Line, and shall henceforward have to look North for the Sun at Midday. —At 10 A.M., the Cutter being prepared, my Brother was Carried from the Cabin to the Main Hatchway, and hoisted in a Half Cask upon Deck, and from thence Lowered into the Boat. . . . I accompanied Captⁿ W. into the Boat, and we were soon along side of the *H.D.*, into which Rob^t was Hoisted in the same Machine he had been handed

in when he left the *Arethusa*. Having got him safely down into his Cabin, I wrote my last Letter by this opportunity, which was to my Mother, having addressed two before in the same manner, viz^t. from off the Isle of Wight and from off Madeira. At 1 P.M. Captain Wolley left us. I could not part with him without sincere regret, his kindness and tenderness to my Brother during his severe illness and his Civility and friendly attention to myself, as well as his disposition and manner in general having inspired me with sentiments of very great esteem and regard for this excellent officer.—Captain Wolley was no sooner gone than the Ceremonies usual on Crossing the Line were performed : some flags were drawn athwart the Main Deck, near the foremast, which formed a Curtain, behind which the Actors in this strange Comedy equipped themselves. The story to be represented is the visit of Neptune to the Ship on crossing the Line, where he is supposed to hold his Court, on which occasion he deifies all those Persons on board (who have not already rec^d that Honour on former occasions) by the Ceremonies of Ducking and Shaving. Preparatory to these it is very requisite for the Novitiates to equip themselves as well as the Professors. My Dress was a Powdering Jacket, a pair of Loose Trowsers, old shoes and bare Legs. The performance began by Neptune (supposed to be in the Sea) hailing the Ship, and desiring to know whence we came and whither bound ? The Captⁿ from the Quarter Deck, with his speaking Trumpet, answered these Questions, and then, informing Neptune that he had several Sons and Daughters of old England on board, desired the favour of his Company to enitiate them into the Mysteries of his Court. Here the Curtain was taken down and the retinue of Neptune began to march aft.—These consisted of some of the Seamen, stripped naked from the Waist and their bodies tarred and painted various Colours ; the two Principal personages among these were the High Constable and Barber of the God, the one Carrying his Baton, and a List of the Novitiates ; and the other, the Implements of his Profession, viz^t a Box of Tar in lieu of Soap Suds, and an Old Saw by way of Razor. Neptune's Car was a Gun Carriage Covered with a Flag on which he and his Lady rode, and this was drawn by six Monsters as terrific as any that ever issued from the Main. The procession advanced (to the sound of Music) to the Quarter Deck, when a Parley took place between the Captain (w^t hat in hand) and the Sea God. They drank a Glass of Grog in token of Amity ; the Captⁿ then retired and the Ceremony began.—The Passengers were all plentifully soused with Water ; but they escaped Shaving, thro' the intervention of a bottle of Grog, sacrificed to Neptune. The younger part of the crew and my Servant amongst others, did not recover the rough edged Razor for several days ; the business lasted until near 4 o'clock, when it was stop^d on account of Dinner.—At 8 P.M., we ranged close up to the *Arethusa* (which had Hoisted the Signal of parting Convoy), we had all our Musicians placed on the Poop, where they played God

Save the King and 'On Board of the *Arethusa*,' and then, manning our Shrouds, we gave three Cheers, which was immediately answe^d by Captⁿ Wolley and his Crew.

"Wed. 10. At Day Light we hoisted our Colours as Commodore, and soon after we saw the Frigate stand off to the N.E., while we, with the *Preston* in Comp^y, kept our Course S.S.W.

"Thur. 11. Brisk Trade, some Squalls of Rain. My Brother felt himself no worse from the exertion of Tuesday, but he is still quite incapable of moving.—This day I resumed the occupation I had given myself for some time before my visit to the *Arethusa*, of teaching Miss Maria Boileau the French Lang^e, and shall give her an hour's instruction every day after breakfast.

"Fri. 12. My Brother in great pain to-day, and very low and uneasy. . . .

"Wed. 17. Crossed the Tropical Line (of Capricorn), the weather is now becoming cooler. My Brother does not seem to suffer from the change, as I should have expected. . . .

"Sun. 21.—During the night a violent Squall and very Dark, fired 7 Guns to show the *Preston* our position; at day light discovered her with Top-sails down and greatly to Leeward, as well as astern. . . .

"Wed. 24 June. Light airs and cool weather.—Denison, the Captⁿ of the afterguard, having behav'd with Insolence to Mr. Gray, was put in Confinement.

"Thurs. 25. Employed this morning getting the Trunks on deck and overhauling them; a fine Breeze, but unable to profit by it in Consequence of the extreme tardiness of our Consort. At 10 A.M. Denison, (who had lain all night in irons) was punished with a Dozen. . . .

"Sunday 28. . . . The *Preston* much improved her Sailing, and is this day nearly along side of us. . . .

"Mon. 29. A Specimen of Cape Weather; Haze, heavy swell, and much rolling; obliged to keep the Ports shut all day. My Brother does not however seem to suffer from the change of weather, but he is terribly annoyed by the water leaking in thro' the Skuttle and dropping on his Bed.

"Tues. 30th. A very heavy swell and great rolling, all the Ports shut, in consequence of wh^h we breakfasted in Col. Carleton's Cabin (which has stern lights), all sitting on the floor; while thus employed, the Ship took a Heel more violent than any we had yet experienced, and Miss Carruthers, being in the next Cabin, was thrown with violence against our door, which, giving way, she came through and lighted under the Sofa. Mrs. Carleton, in the mean time, was overset also, and rec^d the Contents of a Coffee Pot on her Legs.—Miss C. sprained her arm, the other rec^d no great hurt. Whilst in the midst of the distresses in the Carleton's Cabin, Robert sent for me and I found him with a broken Head, a Mutton Ham and the Plate on which it stood, having fallen down and Cut him in an alarming place, but fortunately

not deep. The Rolling did not cease all day, and it was not without difficulty and much holding on that we could sit at Table. While we were there, Bowler (a large Newfoundland Dog) in leaping from the Poop to the Mizzen Chains, fell over-board and was lost. Obligated to lye-to for the *Preston*, made her Signal to make more Sail. . . .

" Mon. 6. (July). The Sick List is very Numerous and the Ship wet and uncomfortable, notwithstanding which, my Brother evidently gets better,—he can now walk into the next Cabin with the assistance of one Person only. Passed over the Meridian of London, and drank a Bumper to all friends there.

" Tues. 7. At 3 A.M. Mr. Bethune (having the watch) not being able to see the *Preston* from the Deck or Poop, sent Jonathan Meyal, Q^r M^r., aloft, who saw her distinctly on the Larboard Quarter, when next they went to look, viz^t at 8 A.M. she was not to be seen, altho' the weather was very clear and the sea extremely quiet.—We backed our Mizzen topsail and lay-to until 11 A.M., when Captⁿ C., holding a Council with his 3 Chief Officers, it was their Opinion that our Consort had deserted us ; and had gone another Course. We made sail accordingly, and having a fine fresh Breeze at E., amounting almost to a Gale, we made a great Log before Night. Much uneasiness and great apprehensions on the part of the Inhabitants of *Buckingham House* and *Poet's Corner* in Consequence of the Separation of the *Preston* and the increased risk of being attacked by an Enemy.

" Wed. 8 July. . . . At 6 A.M. a strange Sail was seen astern, at 8 o'clock made the Private Signal w^t a Gun, which being ans^d, we soon knew the Stranger to be the *Preston*. Lay-to for her until she was pretty near up with us, then made Sail.

" Thurs. 9th. Cloudy and a good deal of Swell, at noon spoke the *Preston* and on asking why she left us, recriminated, and said we had left her.

" Friday 10. . . . Robert ventured on Deck for the first time and passed an Hour with Col. and Mrs. Garstin. . . .

" Mon. 13. Light airs and fine weather and no Swell, altho' approaching to the Cape in the Winter Season. . . .

" Tuesday 14. Very Light Airs and Charming Weather, but nearly Calm, which is very Surprising at this Season in Such a Situation, being now South of the Cape in Lat 36° 4' and E. Lon. 18° 26'.—At 1 P.M. the Lead was Cast but no Bottom found with a 90 fathom line. Captⁿ C. is now determined to take the Mozambique Passage and to touch at St. Augustine's, in the Island of Madagascar for refreshments, on account of the Sick.

" Wed. 15. . . . Sail-makers employed in making Sails for the Long Boat and Cutter, preparatory to our going to Madagascar.

" Thur. 16. . . . As it seems now a determined point that we are to touch at Madagascar, every one is bringing forward Books in which that Island is mentioned. After Dinner, Mr. Tolfrey read

from *Anderson's Recreations in Agriculture &c.* an Account said to be written by one of the Persons saved out of the *Winterton*. This Memoir gives rather a dismal Acc^t of the Isl^d and its Inhab^{ts}, and Mrs. Carleton, who has been pleasing her fancy with the beauties of the Country, its fertility, its Meadows, Brooks and Groves, its Milk, its Fruits and Vegetables,—and above all its Inhabitants, who, altho' black, might be Honest, Simple and kind; what was her disappointment to learn that the soil [was] rugged, barren and bare, no daisy strewn meadows, no babbling brooks, no myrtle groves.—That its fruits are confined to the Soapy Banana, its Vegetable to the gross and thready Pumpkin; that the Natives, on whom all our Comfort must Chiefly depend, unite the Vices of the Barbarous and the Refined. On the one hand, Rude, ignorant and Slothful, on the other, Cunning, Debauched, Dishonest. This evening a reconciliation was effected between Col. Garstin and Mr. Tolfrey, between whom a Coolness has subsisted since the King's Birthday, in Consequence of Mr. T. having that Evening pressed for the Young Ladies to dance, contrary to the inclination of Mrs. G. I was so lucky as to have some hand in the treaty of Amity, which was entered upon, and which only waits the Sanction of the Petticoat Gov^t to be Ratified.

"Friday, 17 July. The fine weather continues unchanged. My Brother is now able to Walk a little without support and remained a Considerable time on Deck. . . .

"Wed. 22^d July. . . . Captⁿ Carr^s wrote a Letter to his 4 Prin. Officers, and enclosed Letters he had rec^d from Cols. Carleton and Garstin, representing the Sickly State of the King's and Compy's Soldiers on board, and urging the necessity of putting in at some place prior to Columbo for refreshments, at same time quoting the final Instructions he rec^d from the Court of Directors, desiring that he might stop no where between Madeira and Ceylon, and requesting the opinion of his Officers on the Matter; which they transmitted to him in their respective Letters, all advising him to take the Mozambique Channell and to put in at the first Port for the benefit of the Sick. . . .

"Thurs. 23 July. . . . A fine, fresh Breeze at S.W. by W., being the finest Wind that can blow for our Course up the Mozambique Channel. Thornton (a Seaman) very insolent to Mr. Gray, and put in irons on the Poop. It is three Months this day since we sailed from Portsmth—what a Change of Situation!

"Fri. 24. . . . At 10 A.M. punished William Hughes w^h 15 Lashes for insolent and mutinous expressions in regard to the arrest of Thornton. The latter was pardoned (in my opinion, very improperly). . . .

"Satur. 1 Aug. . . . St. Augustine's little more than 200 miles from us, and we expect certainly to get sight of it to-morrow. . . .

"Sunday 2. A very fresh Breeze at S.E. which will render it difficult if not impossible for us to fetch St. Augustine's Bay, which

lies E.N.E. from us, dist. about 60 or 70 miles (as we suppose). . . . A general anxiety among the Passengers about going in to St. Augustine's and great apprehensions that we may be obliged to pass it. Mrs. Carleton, in particular, who had formed many delightful schemes for passing her time agreeably on this Island, and came on Deck in the morning dressed, as she said, for Landing, how great was her disappointment on being told that we should not reach the destined Port, how great was her suspense when told soon after that there was a chance of being able to make it, how great was her joy when at 2 o'clock the land was seen and she was informed that we should probably come to anchor in the Evening.—About 6 o'clock, the Land became very Visible; from the Deck it appeared to be very low, as at first sight of it we were not 20 miles from it.—We were now within 6 or 8 miles of the Island, but from the extreme flatness of the Coast, we could distinguish no objects whatever, and it being near night fall, Captⁿ Carruthers determined to stand off and on till the morning, therefore at 7 P.M. put about Ship and lay to until 10, when, fearing that we should fall to Leeward, made sail and stood along shore to the Southward.

“ Mon. 3^d. I rose early this morning and went on deck in the hope of getting a fine view of the Coast of Madagascar, when to my disappointment I found that we had got so much to the S.W. as to have entirely lost sight of the Island, and that the wind blew directly from St. Augustine's; Captⁿ C. determined to work in by traverse sailing. After various tackings, we got sight of land about 1 o'clock, and at 4 began our sounding in 25 Fathoms. Making towards the Land, we perceived a 3 masted Ship lying at Anchor in the Mouth of the Bay, on which we immediately hoisted a Pendant of our Colours, and made some preparation towards Clearing out for action, the stranger soon hoisted her Colours and we found them to be those of the East India Co^y. As we approached her, she sent a Boat on board with an officer who told us she was the *Aurora* from Bengal to England, laden with Rice. We passed her Stern and Came to Anchor about 6 P.M. . . . We had not been long here when a Canoe Came along side, with Six Natives, all of whom spoke Less or more English.—The Chief of them called himself Prince Geoffrey, another was Prince of Truro, Brother to Prince W^m, the third was the grand Secretary to Prince W^m, the 4th was called Captⁿ Stephen, the 5th Col. Tom, the name of the 6 I did not hear; we took them in to the Captain's Cabin, where they Drank Brandy and promised us on behalf of King Bau Bau (whom we are to see) Provisions of every kind. These black People have a good deal of the negro Countenance, but on the whole are not *very* ugly. To secure a good name amongst them, Captⁿ C. gave each a Bottle of Rum away with them; they were in no hurry to depart, and made some strong attempts to remain all night,—in which, however, they did not succeed.

“Tues. 4. Soon after day break, a number of Canoes Came off from the Shore and our Q^r Deck was Crowded with Natives. These brought various Commodities to dispose of by way of Barter, such as fowls, fish, milk, sweet potatoes, yams, Limes, Lemons, Bananas, Sugar Canes and Carravanses. These they exchanged for knives, Razors, empty Bottles, pieces of Cloth, handkerchiefs and Gun powder, and occasionally for money; but to the last they affix a very inferior value to what it bears in Countries where it is the Current Medium of Exchange, and until our knives became very Common among them, they would give a greater quantity of any Article for one of these which cost 15 pence than for a dollar: amongst our Visitors this morning were two Chiefs called Prince William and Prince Duke, who having promised 2 Bullocks in return for Muskets given them by Captⁿ C., he desired that I would go ashore in the Long Boat to receive them. At 10 o'clock Left the Ship along with Mr. Bethune in the Long Boat, in w^h we took water Casks to fill in the River, towards which we directed our Course. Its mouth is very near the Tent Rock (opposite to which we lie at Anchor), at that place it appears to be about 8 miles broad, but it is suddenly contracted to the breadth of half a mile, and this place may properly be Called the *Mouth of the River*, for the other is rather the Bay or recess in the Ocean. It is impossible for vessels of any great draft of water to go up this River, by reason of a Bar of sand extending from side to side, which at low water is not above 3 feet below the Surface. In this River the influence of the Tide in respect to the taste of the water Ceases a very short distance above the Bar, we sailed up about 2 miles, however, and put into a Convenient Creek for filling the Casks. Col. and Mrs. Carleton and Mr. Campbell, who had come so far in the Long Boat, proceeded up the River a mile further, where they pitched a tent. Mr. Bethune and I, with our servants, entered the wood on the left side, and, conducted by the two Princes, we Continued our Way in a winding foot path for about 2 miles, when we reached an open Sandy plain interspersed with the Large Tamarind Trees;—here the Princes had their residence. They told me, however, that this was not their Home, but only a temporary abode, which they inhabited during the stay of the Ships in the Bay. Their Huts, or Tents, as they Call it, are made of Reeds in an oblong form, with a Conical Roof and two doors placed in the opposite sides. The workmanship of these Huts displays a Considerable degree of neatness and ingenuity, but there seems to be no attention whatever paid to accommodation within, either in respect to height or to the arrangement of the surface. We came first to the Tent of Prince William and found his Family seated on the ground in front of it. He presented us to his 3 wives, the 2 first of whom are called Embezie and Ramajah. The youngest and favourite children of these wives were Huan and Tuban, both Boys. A small mat was spread upon the ground, on which the Pr. and his two Guests sat down, and were regaled with a

draft of new milk from the hands of Ramajah. A considerable herd of Cows and Bullocks were feeding in the neighbourhood on thin long Grass, growing in tufts among the Sand, these were the property of a number of individuals, all adherents and dependants of Prince William and Pr. Duke. Having selected a fat Bullock from the first, and got it sent off to the River, I next paid a visit at the Tent of Prince Duke, and was presented to his wife, 'Naparée' and to 'Yangarla,' his Daughter, which last is by far the prettiest woman I have seen on the Island, and possessing a degree of modesty and decency very rare among the Mallegash Ladies. Having passed about two hours with these People and obtained a second fine Bullock from Pr. Duke, and the promise of two others from Prince Henry and the Duke of York for next day, I got my two friends to Conduct me back to the River, where I was soon joined by Bethune, who had left me some time before. We got the Bullocks into the Long Boat, and returned to the Ship about 9 o'clock in the Evening.

"Wed. 5. The Quarter Deck more crowded than yesterday with Natives.—My Brother, finding himself free from pain, determined to go on shore to-day, and a party was formed Consisting of him, the Miss Boileaus, Mr. Tolfrey, Capt^a Carruthers and me in the Pinnacle. We set off at 11 A.M. and proceeded up the River to a village about a mile higher than the watering creek, where ten or twelve families reside. The Situation of this village is pretty enough, the huts are scattered about from place to place and there are fine spreading Tamarind Trees growing at short distances from each other, which afford the most delightful shade, the River runs in front, and the view behind is terminated by a Hill Covered with Trees. The Cattle grazed all round the village on a Long, thin, ugly Grass, and in the middle was a fold or Penn Containing a great number of calves. This spot wanted only verdure to be beautiful, but the Sand which covers the whole Surface of the Country round St. Augustine's Bay gives it an arid and unfertile appearance.

"We had taken with us Fish and Fowls which we got dressed under a Tree, while we spread our Cloth and dined under another. The two Chiefs of this village are 'Robert Spens' and 'John Vowen,' with whom I formed an acquaintance and got from them a Cow and Calf for a Musket each. I engaged two other Bullocks for next day from 'Tom Place' and 'Jack Rivers' the sons of the two Chiefs. We were also introduced to the wives of these men, two of whom were pretty and interesting Girls, especially one named 'Atlangta,' the wife of Tom Place, this woman took a great liking to Miss Boileau, and Called her 'Sister Alicia.'

"We returned soon after dinner to our Boat, and Came down the River to the Long Boat Creek, where the Miss Boileaus, Capt^a Carruthers and I landed and set off to visit the 'Prince of Wales,' who, it seems, is Governor, or the King's Representative in these parts. His Highness had visited us in the morning, and a most grotesque figure he was.

Some person had given him a Suit of Cloaths consisting of an Old Uniform of the Hans Town Association, an Embroidered Waistcoat, and Cotton Breeches,—and an old hat of large dimensions round the brim. This Prince of Wales is very ill made, and his Cloaths hung so loosely upon him that I could compare him to nothing but the Straw figure on *Guy Fawkes* which is carried about the Streets of London on the 5th of November. It was a walk of about 2 Miles to the Prince's Habitation, and here we found him like the others sitting before his hut in the midst of his Family,—among whom were his mother, 'Yevalinga,' his first wife, 'Raheeda,' two other wives and Several Sons and Daughters. They brought us mats on which we sat for a few minutes and Drank some milk. The Prince had now got rid of his coat and waistcoat and was sitting enjoying himself in no other Cloathing than his nankeen Breeches, a guise much more Comfortable to him than the trappings of the Hans Town Volunteers. We returned to our friends in the Boat, and after an agreeable Sail of an Hour got safe on board the *Henry Dundas*. . . .

"Fri. 7. After our usual Market on the Quarter Deck, Captⁿ Carruthers expressed a wish that I would go on shore to make purchases of Calves, fowls &c. I set off in the Canoe of Robert Spens and Tom Place and paddled up the river to their village, where I found our Pinnace with a party of the Passengers. I purchased a Bullock and Cow and Calf for knives, for a Musket and 2 Dollars and a few tools. A party of us walked down by the side of the River to help to drive our Cattle to the Long Boat, but were stopped about half way by a Creek which we Could not get across, we therefore hailed the Cutter and she came to us ; the natives drove the Cattle across the Creek and conducted them to the Long Boat, which was taking in water about a mile lower down. I went on board of her and the Cutter proceeded to the Ship. The securing the Cattle and stowing them in the Boat (on this occasion a service of great difficulty and some danger) was not compleated until 7 in the Evening, when we pushed off, but had not proceeded far when the Boat ran aground. All the Crew turned out and endeavoured to shove her on, but their efforts were in vain, and Mr. Bethune thought it best to remain quiet until the Tide should flow and float her ; we therefore wrapped ourselves up as warmly as we could and went to sleep.

"Later, 8. At 5 A.M. the Boat was afloat and we arrived on board the Ship just as the morning Gun had fired. I went to bed for two Hours, and then employed all the rest of the day in writing Letters to England, for the *Aurora*.

"Sun. 9. August. Having got a small q^{ty} of small shot, I went on shore with Mr. Gilbert near the Tent Rock, where I had not yet been. In a thicket near this place, Mrs. Carleton's Tent was pitched, where she and Mr. Campbell and Col. Carleton and Miss Carruthers had resided for several days.

After going thro' a wood of very Considerable extent, we Came to an open place with a pool of water, where we found the Partridges resorted to drink. We found here Mr. Campbell, who had already shot a number of Birds. From this place I went w^h a native whom I met with, to his habitation in the wood, where he told me he had some sheep; after a Course of 3 or 4 miles which, being on an empty stomach, was more fatiguing than agreeable, we arrived at the residence of our Conductor, called 'Prince Livi.' He had neither Hut, Tent, nor any kind of Covered place, but merely a sort of Bower among the Trees, where we found his wife w^h 3 or 4 sons and 2 daughters, together with his herd and flock, consisting of 3 Cows, 5 Calves, 4 Sheep and 3 Lambs, besides a great number of Goats. I purchased immediately the Sheep and Lambs, together with a milch Goat and 2 Kids, in all 10 Beasts for a Musket, and I engaged all his Fowls at the price of 3 for a shilling knife. Mr. Gilbert and I broke our fast with a draught of Milk, and Came back to the Tent Rock, where we embarked our Cargo, and got on board the *Henry Dundas* at 2 o'clock; we found *Blue Peter* flying at the Fore, which being the Signal for all Persons to repair on board, I left the Ship no more, but employed the afternoon in writing more letters for the *Aurora*.

" Mon. 10 August. At 4 A.M. made the Signal and got under way, with a light breeze at East. Our stock provided at Madagascar, exclusive of what was consumed there, consists of 7 Bullocks, 11 Calves, 8 Goats and Kids, 7 Sheep and Lambs, 270 Fowls and 8 Guinea Hens.

" At 9 A.M. we made the *Preston* Signal to make more Sail, which she neither answ^d nor obeyed.

" At 4 P.M. hoisted a Signal for the *Preston* to observe our Motions during the night; this being treated with the same neglect as the Signal of the morning, we enforced it with a Gun, but even that produced no effect. In my opinion, Captⁿ Carruthers would be justified in writing to Captⁿ Murray that if a similar inattention occurs again, he will use his authority as Commodore and supersede him. . . .

" Wed. 12. Very light airs and hot weather, my Brother has had a relapse of his Complaint, but not so violent as to prevent him from walking to the neighbouring cabins.—There is still a great deal of Sickness in the Ship, and to many the halt at Madagascar appears to have done harm rather than good. Mrs. Carleton and Mr. Campbell are both ill, as is likewise Miss Maria Boileau—and several of the Crew are laid up.—This is a merry day in Scotland for men, but a Sad one for Grouse. . . .

" Wed. 26. Delightful weather, and sailing at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles an Hour. . . . Yesterday at dinner a long discussion took place between Mrs. Garstin and Captⁿ Carruthers relative to the disposal of Miss Pattle at Columbo. It seems the friends of the young lady informed Captⁿ C. that Mrs. G. would take a charge of her, and in consequence of that, Captⁿ C. agreed to take her in his Ship. Mrs. G has

hitherto Completely fulfilled the agreement, for she has taken the sole and exclusive superintendence and direction of Miss Pattle's conduct ever since we left England, and a troublesome job I believe she has had. Some little time ago, she told Captⁿ C. that at Columbo she should not take Miss P. on shore with her, and that therefore she should remain under Captⁿ C.'s protection, together with the Miss Boileaus and Miss Carruthers. Of this measure, neither the Captⁿ nor the young ladies approved, and it was this which gave rise to the discussion in the Cuddy. Captⁿ C. argued that as Mrs. G. had taken the Management of the young Lady hitherto, she surely knew her best, and that after going through the whole voyage with this Charge on her Hands, was it handsome or fair to throw it off just at the Conclusion, and at a time when the influence and ascendancy which she had acquired over her might be exerted with the greatest advantage to Miss P. and to the great ease and accommodation of Captⁿ Carruthers? In consequence of some things that dropped from Mrs. G., Miss Boileau felt herself called upon to say a few words, which she did with much judgement and Spirit. These words, as nearly as I can recollect, were that if Miss Pattle did reside in the same house with her and her sister, she thought it right to say that as neither of them had any influence with her, she could not take any responsibility upon herself with regard to her Conduct and therefore declared that neither she nor her sister should consider Miss P. as one of their party. Mrs. G. seemed much exasperated at this, and suddenly left the Table.

"Thurs. 27 August. . . . Captⁿ Murray has written a Letter to Captⁿ C., from which it would appear that he does not mean to touch at Ceylon. All the trunks brought upon deck. More events to-day. It seems that Captⁿ C. rec^d information from Mr. Gray that Col. Garstin, in speaking to him about Miss Pattle's story, had used Captⁿ C.'s name in an improper manner, and had even threatened him w^t the displeasure of Miss P.'s father; and had also said that he (Col. G.) would use his influence to prevent Captⁿ C. from getting good passengers from Bengal. In Conseq^e of this, Captⁿ C. wrote to Colonel G. desiring an apology. The Col. ans^d the letter this day and ent^d into a long explanation of the slight connection between him and Miss P., but took little notice of the main object in Captⁿ C.'s Letter (the expressions to Mr. Gray). Captⁿ C. wrote again this Ev^g in more direct terms, and I believe stated the express terms used by the Col. . . .

"Wed. 2. . . . The difference between Captⁿ Carruthers and Col. Garstin is at last made up, the Col. having made an apology to the Captⁿ for speaking disrespectfully of him to Mr. Gray, and the affair has ended in a mutual Coldness between the latter Gentleman and Col. G. My Brother, after getting somewhat better, and going on deck every day for the last week, fell back to-day and did not leave his bed.

"Thur. 3. . . . My Brother is a little better than yesterday, and went on Deck; he is, however, very weak. . . .

"Sun. 6. Cloudy weather and prodigious heavy Showers. At 11 A.M. a Boat was sent on board the *Preston*, with Letters for Bengal, and Captⁿ Carruthers' order for her to proceed on her voyage as soon as we should make the Isl^d of Ceylon. The Boat returned with a letter from Captⁿ Murray to Captⁿ Carruthers, saying that he should not part Comp^y with us, but meant to go into Columbo. Capⁿ C. was very much incensed at this, and said he should certainly do what he could to prevent Capⁿ M. going in to that Island and spoiling his market.

"Mon. 7. Sept. . . . At 12 N. Captⁿ C. made the Signal for the Captⁿ of the *Preston* to come on board, but Captⁿ M. did not think proper to Comply, and sent his first mate with a Letter to Captⁿ C., written in very disrespectful and improper terms. Mr. Younghusband gave as a reason for stopping at Columbo, that the *Preston* was short of bread, and that the Crew had got the scurvy, whereupon Captⁿ C. offered bread, spruce, Beer, or anything else of which they might stand in need, and made the like offer in a strong Letter addressed to Captⁿ Murray.

"Tues. 8. Some extraordinary measures took place during the night. In the Ev^g we made the Signal to steer E.S.E., which the *Preston* did not seem very willing to comply with, and bore away E. and N.E. . . . In consequence of which, we hauled after her and at 11 P.M. spoke her, desiring she might steer our Course and make more Sail, we then stood on our right Course, viz^t E.S.E., but the *Preston* was as inattentive as before, or rather, as determinedly disobedient. At 11 P.M., seeing this, Captⁿ Carruthers ordered a 9 lb shot to be fired ahead of her, but it had no effect, and at 3 this morning Mr. Bethune was ordered to fire one of the same shot into her rigging, which he did in the most effectual manner, and went through her Mail Top Sail. Captⁿ Murray then appeared on his Deck and alledged that his M. Top Mast was struck. Captⁿ C. reproved him in strong terms for being so refractory, and desired him in the most peremptory manner to obey orders and to steer the same course with his Commodore.—Captⁿ Murray's answer was that Captⁿ C. might do as he liked, but that he was determined to go into Colombo in spite of him, and here the Conversation ended. At 9 A.M. made the signal for Captⁿ M. to come on board, which he did along with his second officer, and conversation then took place between the two Captains, at which the said officer and Mr. Campbell assisted. I did not hear all the particulars, but the result was that Captⁿ Murray gave up his intention of going into Columbo, and that he should receive from us such a supply of Bread, Rice &c., as would serve him to Bengal. Captⁿ Murray's conduct in the whole of this Affair, appears to have been neither handsome nor honourable, and the facility with which he was driven from his purpose is an evident proof that even in his own opinion he stood upon weak and defenceless ground.

"Wed. 9. The Discussion with Captⁿ Murray did not end (as I expected it would) with the Conversation above mentioned. When

the boat w^b carried the Rice &c. returned, it brought a Letter from Captⁿ Murray more strange and incoherent than the others; the substance of it, as far as I could collect, was that he required Captⁿ Caruthers to see him into P. de Galle, otherwise he w^d accompany him to Columbo.—Capⁿ C. replied that he w^d accompany the *Preston* as far as he should judge expedient, and that he would then make the Sig^l for separ^e, that Capⁿ M must consider the order sent him by Captⁿ C. as absolute, and that there must be no more time lost in Communication between the Ships.—Captⁿ M. no sooner rec^d this Letter than he intimated his intention of coming again on board, which he did while we were at Dinner. A long Conversation took place in the Captain's Cabin, w^b ended in Captⁿ C. declaring that if Captⁿ M. sh^d continue obstinate and refractory, he w^d report his Conduct to the Gov^r of Ceylon. Captⁿ Murray appeared at this interview (according to the Sea Phrase) to have got his *Grog on Board*, and seeming to be somewhat Pot valiant, he appeared to wish to make the business Pers^l, which Captⁿ C. very properly treated with contempt.—This mor^e, having run a good way to the South of Columbo, we made the Signal for Sepⁿ at 9 o'clock. The *Preston*, after hailing us and enquiring our Latitude, hoisted her Colours, gave 3 cheers, and stood on her Course, which was E.S.E., and we hauled off to N.E. by E., being direct for Columbo.—In spite of every exertion, we could not make the Island this night, and at 8 o'clock we slackened Sail and soon after lay to.

“Thurs. 10. At 3 A.M., I set off in the Cutter with Mr. Campbell and Mr. Ashford, and took with me the Dispatches for Mr. North.¹ After a Sail of above 4 hours, we arrived and landed at Columbo. Several Gentlemen were standing on the Beach, one of whom (who I afterwards found to be Mr. Fraser, the Accountant-General) took me to his House, and then carried me in his Gig to the Governor's Country House, about 2 miles from the town. His Excellency rec^d me with much kindness, and I remained Tête-à-Tête with him for above 4 Hours. My Brother then arrived, and he was soon followed by Mr. Tolfrey and his Son. My Sensations at my arrival in Ceylon are strong and various,—they are Chiefly of an agreeable nature, but they are not altogether unaccompanied with pain.—In short, taking leave of the *Henry Dundas* is once more bidding farewell to England.

“The Island, as far as I can judge, is beautiful, and its English Inhabitants seem to be mighty good sort of people.”

This odd volume of Diary ends here. With the exception of the opening sentences, and some corrections, it is not in Mr. George Arbuthnot's hand. It is possible, therefore, that it is merely a copy made from the original by his direction. It seems probable that it may have

¹ The Hon. Frederick North, Governor of Ceylon, afterwards fifth Earl of Guilford.

been copied in order to send home to his parents, for on the last page the following words are written in his own hand :

" Mr. Lautour will be so good as forward this under cover to Robert Arbuthnot Esq^r, Edinburgh. G.A., Madras, January 31st, 1803."

Mr. George Arbuthnot did not remain long in Ceylon, where his brother, as has been said, became Chief Secretary to the Governor. George Arbuthnot soon removed to Madras, where the above-mentioned Mr. Francis Lautour took him into his business, as has been elsewhere related. He remained in business till the year 1823, when he retired and returned to Europe, having made a large fortune by his successful enterprise. It has already been explained that many volumes of George Arbuthnot's diary are missing, and we have no details of his life, apart from a few letters, down to the year 1824, when the series of Diaries at Warthill commence. Some extracts from these have already been quoted in the text, but it is thought that some further passages will be of interest to many members of the family.

On January 7th, 1830, after mentioning that he is confined to the house with a cold, Mr. Arbuthnot writes :

" My amusement was reading Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather* on Scottish History,¹ a work which, though written for the instruction of a reader of seven years old, will afford information and delightful entertainment to one of eight times that age."

The winter of 1830 was severe, and on February 6th Mr. Arbuthnot writes : " The frost continues, and the river Thames is entirely frozen over. . . ."

" Monday (Feb). 15th. Paid a visit to the Right Hon^{ble} Charles Arbuthnot at his new house in the Site of Carlton Gardens, being my first introduction to him. . . ."

" Friday, April 9th. Good Friday. This day at 9 a.m. died my good old friend, General Sir Hew Dalrymple,² at his house, two doors from mine, having nearly completed his 80th year. I first made his

¹ The first series of Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, was published in 1828, the second in 1829, and the third and fourth in 1830.

² General Sir Hew Whitefoord Dalrymple, only son of Captain John Dalrymple (a grandson of the first Viscount Stair) was born in 1750. After his father's death in 1753 his mother married Sir John Adolphus Oughton, K.B. Sir Hew entered the Army, and served with great distinction under Sir Arthur Wellesley during the Peninsular War. He was much blamed, however, for consenting to the Convention of Cintra, by which terms were granted to the French under Junot. Following immediately after Wellesley's victory of Vimiero, it was thought that that success should have been vigorously followed up. Dalrymple's act, however, has generally been justified in recent times, and it is allowed that he gained the whole object of the campaign by the peaceful arrangement made by him. This was in 1808. Dalrymple was recalled, and his career irretrievably injured by this affair.

acquaintance at Lady Oughton's, his mother, about eight and thirty years ago, and he was then one of the most elegant men I have seen,—all through life he was one of the most agreeable and most worthy. . . .

"Elderslie, 7th (June). Mr. Cook¹ and I went to Dorking in the Carriage, to assist at the Petty Sessions, and were joined by Mr. Boscawen² and Mr. Lee Steere. Case of Assault at Coldharbour. *Dismissed*, but made the defendant pay the costs, 10/6. Dined at Ockley Court, with Walter Calvert, and met there Mr. Cook and Mr. Malthus. The Bulletin about the King very unfavourable.³

"Elderslie, Tuesday, July 13, 1830. . . . At 8 a.m., set off in J.F.'s⁴ Calèche with him and Mr. Cook for Guildford, to attend the General Quarter Sessions for the County, where there was a very numerous Meeting of the Magistracy; the Oaths of Allegiance were administered by the Clerk of the Peace, Mr. Lawson. A County Rate of 2d. p^r £, so as to raise £14,000, was agreed to, on the application of Mr. Smallpiece, the Treasurer. . . . On the motion of Mr. Holme Sumner, a Requisition to the High Sheriff was drawn up and signed, to call a General Meeting of Freeholders and other Inhabitants, for the purpose of preparing a Dutiful and Loyal Address to His Majesty King William IV, of condolence on the demise of His late Majesty, and also to Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Adelaide, on their Accession to the Throne of these Realms. Dined with the Magistrates at the White Hart, about 60 at Table. . . .

"London, Friday, July 23rd, 1830. . . . This day the Parliament was prorogued by His Majesty King William IV in person. Sent the twins and Coutts to see the Procession along Pall Mall. . . .

"London, Tuesday, July 27. Mr. Exshaw came to breakfast. Conversation with him on French Affairs. No information as yet what the King will do in consequence of the late Elections being all in favour of the Liberal party, i.e., the party opposed to his present ministry.⁵ I asked Exshaw, supposing the King to be willing to give up

¹ The Rev. John Cook, Rector of Ockley.

² The Hon. and Rev. John Evelyn Boscawen, Rector of Wotton.

³ George IV was sinking under his last illness at this time. *The Times* of Monday, 7th June, 1830, published two bulletins. That of Saturday, 5th June, ran as follows: "The King has been embarrassed considerably in his respiration during the night, and His Majesty has had but little rest." The bulletin for Sunday, 6th June, ran thus: "The King has been less embarrassed in his breathing, and His Majesty slept at intervals last night." In another part of the paper, the first bulletin is repeated, with the following comments: "It will be perceived from the foregoing bulletin that His Majesty's symptoms continue unabated. The operation of puncturing his leg has been again resorted to, but with little relief." George IV died at Windsor on the 25th June, 1830. Never has any Sovereign of England been so little regretted—least of all, it has been said, by those who knew him best.

⁴ His brother-in-law, John Fraser.

⁵ The ministry of the Duc de Polignac had reached a climax of unpopularity in France at this time.

his present Ministry, who could he name as their Successors, that would be acceptable to the People? He acknowledged that he could not tell.

"Wednesday, 28th (July). . . . An Express from France, with news of the Dissolution of the New Chamber before its Meeting, and an Ordonnance du Roi, or Proclamation, in which, after animadverting on the Choice of Deputies so adverse to his Gover^t and to the evils alleged to arise from the uncontrolled Liberty of the Press, used as an Engine of Faction and Disloyalty,—he ordains a change in the System of Elections, taking away the elective franchise from Towns and giving it to Departments!¹ This strong Measure, or Coup d'État, as it is called, is most obnoxious to the French People, who are not likely to submit to it unless overpowered by the Military. The Fr. 3 p. C^{ts} have suddenly fallen 7 per Cent, and our own Consols about 2 per Cent. . . .

"London, Thursday, July 29th. The hot weather continues. . . . News from Paris by the way of Brighton of great agitations and Symptoms of risings among the People last Tuesday, and of 2 of the Gardarmarie being killed,—this, however, is given by the Editor as only a report and its truth not absolutely to be relied on.

"Friday, July 30th. . . . News from Paris that the People are making successful resistance.

"Saturday, July 31st. . . . All wears the appearance of a resistance to the present Gover^t, and to me it appears that the King and his Ministers—Polignac, Peyronnel, Monbelle &c.,—have been under the influence of insanity, and have brought upon themselves whatever mischief may ensue. . . .

"Elderslie, Tuesday, August 3rd. . . . The Papers received here this Morning bring the news from Paris down to Saturday evening the 31st, at which time the Liberaux, or party opposed to the King's Gover^t, appear to have got the complete ascendant, after a severe contest of

¹ The celebrated Five Ordinances were signed by Charles X on July 25th, 1830, and within a month had cost him his Crown. These Ordinances struck at the foundations of the newly formed Constitution of France, put an end to the liberty of the Press, established a strict censorship of books, and forthwith dissolved the newly elected Chamber of Deputies, to which a Liberal majority had been returned. The methods of election were also changed, in direct violation of the Charter of 1814. In ordering these reactionary changes, Charles had completely mistaken the temper of his subjects. A violent crisis was immediately precipitated. Paris flew to arms. Barricades appeared in the streets. Three days' fierce fighting ensued, in the course of which 700 soldiers and over 5,000 civilians were killed, and the King signed his abdication at Rambouillet on the 2nd August, renouncing the Crown in favour of his grandson, the young Duc de Bordeaux, better known as the Comte de Chambord. This provision was, however, ignored, the throne was declared vacant, and a constitutional monarchy under Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orleans, was proclaimed. Charles X became for the second and last time a fugitive from his native country and a dependent on the hospitality of foreign courts. He lived for about a year at Holyrood, placed at his disposal by William IV, and died at Goritz in Bohemia in 1836.

several days, in which about 8,000 men fell. The Duke of Orleans has been invited to exercise the functions of Lieut. Gen^l of the Nation. General Lafayette ¹ was Comm^r in Chief of the National Guards who had fought the battle with the King's Troops. . . .

"Thursday 5th (August). . . . The news from France becomes more and more interesting. It seems there has been some mistake as to the terms of the King's abdication, which was thought to be unconditional, but it now appears that he wishes to abdicate in favour of his Grandson, Le Duc de Bordeaux, and to get him declared King by the title of Henry V; which condition the provisional Government may, perhaps, refuse to agree to, and there may follow dissensions and a Civil War.

"Saturday, 7th (August). . . . The news from France, which comes down to Wednesday the 4th, gives us the prospect of troubles in that Country. Mr. Heath seemed strongly impressed with that feeling, He said that it was intended to abolish all Religious Establishment.

"Elderslie, Friday 17th (September). . . . News of the opening of the Railway and the sad accident to Mr. Huskisson.²

"Saturday, September 18th. The Evening Mail of yesterday brings us all the particulars of the sad accident to Mr. Huskisson by the Rocket Steam Engine passing over his leg, and the P.S. mentions the death of that Eminent Man. . . ."

Having referred to the speech of the Duc de Broglie in the Chamber of Peers on the 13th September, and M. Guizot's similar address to the Chamber of Deputies, relating to the changes in France since the Revolution of the preceding July,³ Mr. Arbuthnot, after saying that

¹ This was the celebrated Marquis de la Fayette, who, as a young man, had played a leading part in the first French Revolution. He was now an old man of seventy-three, and died in Paris four years later.

² Mr. William Huskisson, who had been a member of several Governments, at this time represented Liverpool in the House of Commons. On the 15th of September he attended the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway. Among the company assembled for the occasion were Mrs. Charles Arbuthnot, Sir Robert Peel, and the Duke of Wellington. With the latter, Mr. Huskisson's relations had recently been very strained. He was standing with a group of persons who had incautiously placed themselves between the lines, when some engines were seen approaching. The party hurriedly re-entered a train on some parallel lines, but Mr. Huskisson, who was slightly lame, lost his balance when attempting to climb into the carriage, and fell back on the line. He was fatally injured, and died the same night.

³ The Duc de Broglie, addressing the Chamber of Peers, said he was charged by the King (Louis-Philippe) to lay before that House the actual state of the nation and to review the acts of the Government since the "glorious Revolution, which founded his Throne at the same time that it saved our country." He went on to say that the Revolution was the result of "an heroic effort, suddenly exerted to secure, against despotism, superstition and privilege, the national liberties and interests. . . . France promises herself that so noble a triumph shall not prove fruitless; she considers herself freed from the system of deception, uncertainty, and impotence, which had so long wearied and irritated her," etc.

these reports appear to him to be "a temperate and sensible statement of the affairs of the Nation," continues thus: "The Funds of France are, however, very low, viz^t 5 per C^{ts} 98 and the 3 per C^{ts} 69, which indicates a want of confidence somewhere. I think the most probable cause of the depression is to be found in the number of Churchmen, Foreigners and others who have been panic-struck, and are making rapid Sales of their possessions in the Stocks; when the operation of that panic subsides, the Funds will rise, and the Gover^t, which has been recognized by all the great Powers, will flourish.

"Elderslie, Wednesday, 6th October. The same beautiful autumnal weather. Several of my family are enjoying the fine mornings by leaving our beds at 6 o'clock, or soon after. . . . Spent an hour at Ockley Court with Calvert. . . . Wrote to the Hon^{ble} and Rev^d John Evelyn Boscawen, in answer to his letter of the 27th ult^o about the Meeting to be held at Epsom to-morrow, for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

"Elderslie, Sunday, (14th November). . . . News of the burning of a Mill at Albury last night, the property or farm of Mr. Franks.¹

"Monday, 15th (November). Rode with Jane to the Tower on L.H.² Visit from Mr. Cook to consult about the state of the Neighbourhood, with reference to the Fires in Farm Yards, Mills &c., that are about.—The burning of Mr. Franks' Mill at Albury has made a considerable sensation in this neighbourhood.

"Tuesday, 16th (November). . . . There are now daily reports of Fires in the neighbourhood, chiefly in the premises of Farmers, and letters threatening fire are received by the Gentry. Mr. Broadwood, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Hudson, Mr. Ridley, have had intimations of that description, and there have been several burnings of Ricks, Barns and Stables around us, tho' none in our own Parish till Yesterday, when a Hay-Rick belonging to Thomas Wonham, Farmer at Trouts, on the estate of Mr. Heath, was discovered to be on fire, and this afternoon Wonham came to me, accompanied by Hudson the Constable, and laid an information on oath against James Bravery, a labourer of his own, who had acknowledged to him, his master, that he set fire to the Rick

¹ The French Revolution of 1830 had consequences which extended beyond the national frontiers. In Brussels an insurrection broke out, which led to the separation of Belgium from Holland. In England, the French example made a profound impression on the masses, who were then suffering terrible privations and hardships, and stirred them up to disorders of every kind. Incendiarism and machine-breaking became the order of the day. As will be seen, Surrey by no means escaped the prevailing infection. The final result of these agitations, which were general all over the country, was the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832. From that time onwards, it may be said with tolerable accuracy that the people of England were represented in fact, instead of merely in fiction, by the House of Commons, and their grievances, instead of finding vent outside, were reflected and in time remedied there, as the theory of our democratic institutions requires that they should be.

² Leith Hill.

and then gave the alarm. I granted a warrant for the apprehension of Bravery, and wrote to Mr. Cook, begging him to be present at the examination to-morrow Morning. This afternoon Mr. Broadwood called, and shewed me a letter he had rec^d from his son, a Clergyman in Sussex, dated the 13th, mentioning that there had been in the neighbourhood of Pulborough Assemblages of Country People to the number of 150, going about and forcing others to join them, their declared object being to obtain a rise in wages. The Rev^d Mr. Austin of Pulborough had been in some sort forced to preside at one of their Meetings, and he had recommended to his Neighbours employing Labourers, to give wages at 12/- per week. Mr. Broadwood Sen^r had prepared a Letter to Sir Robert Peel, the Secretary of State, requesting that a Troop of Horse might be sent from Town, and stationed half at Dorking and half at Horsham. Mr. B. asked my advice if he should despatch that Letter, and I advised him to let it alone.—The disposition of the People hereabouts appears to me to be steady and good, and our leading men in the village, such as Coldman, Hudson, Willard, Barret, are worthy.

“Elderslie, Wednesday, Nov. 17th, 1830. The weather changed from bright to gloomy.—Letter from Mr. Broadwood, with an acc^t of the proceedings of the Labourers in the Parishes of Warnham and Horsham, and a wish that they should be made known to the Lord Lieutenant or the Secretary of State, with the view of getting a Military Force down into this Quarter of the County. . . . On Tuesday, the Duke of Wellington in the H^o of Peers and Sir Rob^t Peel in the Commons said they had that day waited on His Majesty and resigned their Office in common with all their Colleagues in the Administration. The King, it was said, had sent for Earl Grey and requested him to form a new Administration.¹

¹ On November 15th a seemingly unimportant adverse vote in the House of Commons caused the Duke of Wellington to tender his resignation to the King. The occasion was by no means one on which the ministry were bound to stand or fall, but many portents showed that they had lost the confidence of the House, besides having made themselves obnoxious to the country in general by their opposition to Reform. Wellington had, on the 2nd November, made his famous speech on the subject, declaring that not only was the system of representation then in force so perfect as to be incapable of improvement, but that if he were called upon to draft a model system for any country whatsoever, his great endeavour would be to create a legislature as similar as possible to the one under which he lived, although he could not hope to produce anything so faultless, because the nature of man was incapable of attaining perfection at the first effort. This uncompromising declaration, which delighted his enemies, was regarded by his friends as most impolitic, and it in fact brought upon the Government a storm of public indignation to which they succumbed a fortnight later. Lord Grey, with the Whigs, came into office pledged to Reform, after having wandered in the wilderness of opposition for nearly a quarter of a century. The last Whig ministry had been that of “All the Talents,” under whose auspices England had forced the Dardanelles in 1807, as related in another part of this volume.

"Harley Street, Thursday, 18th (November). Foggy morning. Called on Mr. Crawford and spoke with him about the troubles and alarms in Surrey, particularly the Parishes of Warnham and Horsham, which he said he would mention at a meeting at the H^o of Lord Arden, to which he had been invited for this day. . . .¹

"Elderslie, Friday, November 19th. Beautiful weather. While at breakfast, a party of rioters came from Oakwood Hill thro' the village, being, as I understood, on their way to Wotton Rectory. Mr. Crawford and Mr. Heath and his son, who came about the same time, and with Sir John Buchan, Captain Wilson and Franks, rode after them to witness their proceedings, while Mr. Cook and I, assisted by Mr. Hart and accompanied by Mr. Calvert and his nephew the Colonel, having taken the information of five Householders as to the probability of more Riots, swore in about 15 Special Constables and wrote for a Military Force.—Night watch of 7 Special Constables.

"Saturday, 20th (November). Fine morning, then rain. Meeting of the Magistrates at Epsom. Troops of the 1st Reg^t of Life Guards, commanded by Captⁿ Hall, Lieut. Hanwood and Cornet Biddulph, arrived at Dorking. . . . Watch set in the village. Patrol of 6 men. A detachment of a Corporal and 6 men of the Life Guards came from Dorking. Many of the labouring people in an agitated state.

"Elderslie, Sunday, Nov. 21st. Fair day. The last night passed quietly over. Attended D.S. at Ockley Church, where Mr. Cook preached on brotherly love and forgiveness of injuries, an excellent discourse and well suited to the present times.

"Monday, 22nd November. The morning hazy, and threatening Rain; went early to Dorking, and breakfasted with the Crawfords, then to the Bench at the Red Lion, where a great number of the Town-people were sworn in as Special Constables, to the number of 150, among whom were several Gentlemen of distinction, Mr. Charles and Mr. David Barclay, Mr. Richard Fuller, &c. Assemblage of the mob near Lady Rothes'² Deputation of four went to speak with them. The Rev^d Mr. Feacham, Mr. Charles Barclay, Mr. Crawford and self. With that party we had pretty good success in quieting them. Next we had conversation with a party of Farmers of the Parish of Newdigate, and then a long discussion with a party of Labourers of that Parish, headed by a little man named James Francis, a thorough Puritan. At 4 o'clock I left Dorking, thinking all was quiet. But I afterwards learnt that the contrary was the case, and that in the absence of the Life Guards who had gone to exercise their horses

¹ This was a meeting of Surrey magistrates, held at the house of Lord Arden, then Lord-Lieutenant.

² Shrub Hill, a house at the East end of Dorking, had been bought by George William, thirteenth Earl of Rothes, in 1792. It was occupied in 1830 by his widow, the Dowager Countess of Rothes, a daughter of Colonel John Campbell of Dunoon. She died at Shrub Hill in 1846 and was buried at Wotton.

a mob attacked the Inn and attempted to force the room in which the Magistrates were sitting. A scuffle ensued, in which the Rev^d Mr. Ridley, Mr. Coombs and Mr. Bothwell, two of the Special Constables, were hurt. Several of the Assailants were also hurt, and 5 of them were taken up handcuffed and sent off to the Jail in Horsemonger Lane."

On Thursday, 25th November, 1830, Mr. Arbuthnot gives a complete list of Lord Grey's new Ministry, Wellington and Sir Robert Peel (of whose administration the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot was a member) having resigned office, as already related. At the end of the long list of names, among which we find those of Melbourne, Palmerston and Lord John Russell, and which evidently did not meet with Mr. Arbuthnot's approval, he writes significantly: "Let us see how long this will last!"

"Elderslie, Friday, 26th (November). The weather fine. . . . Mr. Cook and I swore in a few more persons of the Parishes of Ockley and Abinger as Special Constables, but the late ferment in this part of the Country seems allayed, tho' the Life Guards are still quartered at Dorking.

"Monday, 29th (November). The weather hazy. Rode to Dorking and attended the Bench, where there were several Persons sworn in to the office of Special Constable. Several Measures of precaution, resistance and conciliation were taken into consideration, with reference to the state of the Country. One of the arrangements was to unite the lower parts of the Parishes of Wotton and Abinger to Ockley, another to ring the Church Bells in case of Fire or riotous Assemblage. More Special Constables to be sworn in. . . .

"London, Dec^r 3rd. Rainy morning Called at the Panorama in the New Road opposite Gower Street, to see a view of Madras, painted from a Drawing by Mr. Earle. The Spectator is to suppose himself standing on the top of the Exchange, within the Fort. The Scene is well represented, and I recognized every object. . . .

"(Elderslie) Monday, 3rd (January 1831). . . . Attended the Bench at Dorking. The principal business this day was to hear a complaint from a party of Labourers belonging to the Parish of Capel, on the subject of their wages. Mr. Crawford, who presided at the Meeting, held a long discourse with each of these men, and endeavoured to convince them by many reasons that they ought to live upon their earnings, which in every one of the cases submitted appeared sufficient, none being under 12 shillings a-week,—some as high as 16.

"Wednesday, 5th (January). . . . I dined *en garçon* at Ockley Court, and met Mr. John Calvert, Mr. Byson and Mr. Broadwood. Some conversation on the present extraordinary state of the times. The Trials of Incendiaries and Rioters nearly over; several executions and many transportations. One man (Bushby) was hanged at Horsham on Saturday last. The man who set fire to Mr. Franks' Mill at Albury

is condemned to death.¹—Nine of the persons concerned in the riot at Dorking on the 22nd Nov^r have been tried at Kingston ; three have been acquitted, the other six convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for periods of from 18 months to 6 months (? years). . . .”

We have now reached the period when the debates on the Reform Bill began to occupy the attention of the country almost to the exclusion of every other subject. The Diaries contain constant allusions to the excitement prevailing in the political world over the measures proposed by Lord Grey's Government. On March 1st, 1831, Lord John Russell introduced into the House of Commons the Reform Bill, which will always be identified with his name. The anomalies in the system of representation in Parliament at that time are too well known to need recalling here. It will be remembered that towns like Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds and Sheffield, were unrepresented in Parliament, while many of the “ Rotten Pocket Boroughs” (Gatton and Old Sarum being flagrant instances) returned members, although possessing only one or two inhabitants. In Lord John Russell's speech, which won the admiration alike of friends and opponents, the most arresting passages were those in which he first declared that at an early period in our history the House of Commons had indeed represented the people of England, but that “ there is no doubt likewise that the House of Commons, as it now subsists, does not represent the people of England ” ; and secondly, he imagined an intelligent foreigner visiting these shores in order to study English institutions. Such a stranger, he suggested, would have been informed that this country “ is unparalleled in wealth and industry, and more civilized and more enlightened than any country was before it ; that it is a country that prides itself on its freedom, and that once in every seven years it elects representatives from its population to act as the guardians and preservers of that freedom.” This stranger, he went on to say, “ would be anxious and curious to see how that representation is formed, and how the people choose those representatives to whose faith and guardianship they entrust their free and liberal institutions. Such a person would be very much astonished if he were taken to a ruined mound, and told that that mound sent two representatives to parliament—if he were taken to a stone wall and told that three niches in it sent two representatives to parliament—if he were taken to a park, where no houses were to be seen, and told that that park sent two representatives to parliament ; but if he were told all this, and were astonished at hearing it, he would be still more astonished if he were to see large and opulent towns, full of enterprise and industry and intelligence, containing vast magazines of every species of manufactures, and were then told that these towns

¹ A short account of the trial of James Warner, labourer, for wilfully and maliciously setting fire to the mill at Albury on the night of 13th November, 1830, is to be found in the *Annual Register*, 1831.

sent no representatives to parliament. . . . The confidence of the country in the construction and constitution of the House of Commons is gone. It would be easier to transfer the flourishing manufactures of Leeds and Manchester to Gatton and Old Sarum, than to re-establish confidence and sympathy between this house and those whom it calls its constituents. If, therefore, the question is one of right, right is in favour of Reform ; if it be a question of reason, reason is in favour of Reform ; if it be a question of policy and expediency, policy and expediency are in favour of Reform. . . ."

The debate on the Bill dragged on night after night till, on the 9th of March, the Speaker moved that " Leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the representation of the people in England and Wales." Leave was granted, and the Bill was read a first time on the 14th. The anxieties and misgivings felt by many old-fashioned Tories at this time are clearly reflected in Mr. Arbuthnot's Diary.

On Wednesday, 2nd March, being in London, he writes :

" Wet morning. Employed reading the Debate about Reform of Parliament, on the Bill introduced yesterday by Lord John Russell on behalf of the new Ministry, by which it is intended to disfranchise 62 Boroughs, to grant the elective franchise to (? 27) Towns, and to make many other alterations in the representation of the People. Freeholders of 40/- rent to remain as they are. Copyholders of £10 and Leasehold Tenants of £50 for 19 Years to be entitled to vote. The qualification in Scotland to be entirely changed. . . .

" Thursday, 3rd (March). . . . The Debate on the Reform Bill continued by adjournment and carried on with great animation. . . .

" Tuesday, 8th (March). . . . The Debate on the important question of Parliamentary Reform has been continued day by day since last Tuesday, and is not yet over. On the issue of it much of the future welfare of Great Britain may depend. . . .

" Thursday, 10th (March). . . . The Debate in the H^o of Commons on the introduction of Lord John Russell's Bill is at last over, and the Bill had leave given to come in, with only three Noes. The question has been debated 7 nights. The Funds are falling. Those of France, the 3^d Cent Rentes at 50 ; our own Consols at 74 $\frac{3}{4}$ Fine weather for the Queen's D^y R^m.

Tuesday, 15th March. . . . Lord John Russell's Bill for Par^ly Reform was brought in Yesterday and read a first time without opposition.

" Wednesday, 23rd (March). During the last two nights the Question for the 2^d reading of the Reform Bill was debated, and this morning at 3 o'clock the House decided in favour of the Bill by a majority of ONE in a House of 608 Members.¹ . . . Called in the Strand to hear

¹ Mr. Molesworth says : " The announcement of these numbers was received with a perfect storm of cheers from both sides of the house. Nominally the victory

the opinion entertained there of the decision of the H. of C. on the Reform Bill, and found them satisfied, for this reason, that, while entertaining the Bill so far will satisfy and keep quiet the populace, the largeness of the Minority on the other hand makes it pretty certain that the details will, in Committee, undergo very strict examination, and clauses inimical to the real welfare of the Country will be altered and amended. . . . P. V. A.¹ and I dined with Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone² in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, where we met his Brother, the Honble Adm^l Fleeming. Sir John Malcolm and his son George, Mr. Edmonstone, Mr. Strachey of the India House, Mr. John Loch M.P., Major Close, Mr. Mackintosh, Mr. Warden, late Secretary at Bombay.—Sir John Malcolm, who is recently returned from India, was in high spirits, and the party was altogether lively and agreeable. A considerable portion of the conversation was on the subject which at present so much engrosses the public attention,—the Reform of Parliament. Different sides were taken by Sir John and the Admiral, but the most perfect good humour was maintained. The only M.P. present was Mr. Loch, a supporter of the Measure in Moderation, and he gave an account of all the particulars that occurred in the House during the Debate and at the Division. Mr. L. seems to me to be a man of great good sense, and also honest and worthy in a high degree.”

The following month, public affairs took a dramatic turn. The Government, in piloting the Reform Bill through the Commons, found themselves embarrassed by a factious Opposition at every turn. On the 18th April, an apparently trivial motion was proposed by General Gascoyne, and carried against the Government the following day by a majority of eight. On this, Lord Grey determined to advise the King to dissolve Parliament. An appeal to the people, even under the restricted conditions then in force, was above all things what the Opposition, in spite of their victory, dreaded most. The violent excitement throughout the country made it only too possible that, notwithstanding the predominant influence of the landed interest, mob-terror would enforce its demands and the Whig Government return to power stronger than ever. The King very reluctantly consented to a

was with the Government, and their partisans felt that they must make the most of their triumph. But the opposition felt, and justly felt, that the real advantage was on their side, and that if the principle of the bill was only affirmed by the balance of one single vote, they would be able to do what they pleased with it in the committee, and might very possibly so mutilate it as to compel the ministry to abandon it altogether.”—See *History of the Reform Bill of 1832*, by the Rev. W. N. Molesworth, p. 167.

¹ Patrick Vans Agnew.

² The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, fourth son of John, eleventh Lord Elphinstone, was a distinguished Indian administrator, and had been for many years Governor of Bombay. His brother, the Admiral, had assumed the surname of Fleeming on succeeding to some estates formerly belonging to that family.

dissolution, and the extraordinary scenes in both Houses on the day of the prorogation are referred to by Mr. Arbuthnot as follows :

" London, Friday, April 22nd, 1831. At 2 p.m., the King went in State to the H^o of Lords and prorogued the Parliament, with the view to its immediate dissolution. Previous to H.M.'s arrival, both Houses sat for about an hour, and there was hot debating in each, such as has not been before witnessed in the present generation.—In the Upper House, the contest was chiefly carried on by the Marquess of Londonderry and the Earl of Mansfield against the Measure of Dissolving, and by the Duke of Richmond and the Lord Chancellor in favour of it. The loud and angry discussion continued till the very moment of the King's entrance, with his Crown upon his head, and taking his place upon the Throne ; —then silence was obtained."

Intense excitement had, on this occasion, entirely done away with the decorum and orderly atmosphere usually maintained in the Upper House. The Opposition were bent on carrying a motion standing in the name of Lord Wharncliffe, before the King's arrival. This motion prayed the King to be graciously pleased " not to exercise his undoubted prerogative of dissolving Parliament." The Government were determined at all hazards to prevent this motion being pressed. Lord Brougham states that this was because they were well aware that the King, although supposed to be favourable to Reform, would gladly have taken advantage of it to refuse his consent to the prorogation.¹

While an angry discussion proceeded, the booming of artillery in St. James' Park announced the King's approach. In order to cause delay, the Duke of Richmond called for the enforcement of the standing order that required the Peers to take their proper places, " for," said he, " I see a junior Baron sitting on the Dukes' Bench." He referred to Lord Lyndhurst, who, " starting up, exclaimed that Richmond's conduct was most disorderly, and *shook his fist at him*."² The Duke of Richmond retorted that he should call for the enforcement of the standing orders which prohibited the use of intemperate and threatening language. Lord Londonderry next broke forth into a violent tirade (Lord Brougham says " he did not speak, but screamed,") which effectually played into the hands of the Government by causing further delay. So violent were the speeches and gestures at this point, that some of the Peeresses present rose to their feet in great agitation, under the impression that the lords were about to come to blows.

Lord Wharncliffe at last managed to read his motion, but there was no time to pass it. Lord Mansfield next spoke with considerable violence. He declared that the King and Country were " in a most

¹ *Life and Times of Henry, Lord Brougham*, by himself, vol. iii. p. 114.

² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

awful predicament." He accused ministers of "conspiring" together against the safety of the State, and of "making the Sovereign the instrument of his own destruction." ("Hear, hear," and great confusion at this point.) Lord Mansfield's speech was interrupted by loud cries of "The King! The King!" but he still continued angrily speaking up to the very moment when His Majesty appeared. The King, who had been received with transports of delight by the crowds outside, and greeted with shouts of "Turn out the rogues, your Majesty!" mounted the Throne "with a firm step," bowed to right and left, and begged their Lordships to be seated. The Commons having been summoned, they "rushed in very tumultuously," and the prorogation took place without further incident.

Mr. Arbuthnot continues :

"In the Commons, the Debate was no less animated. Sir Richard Vyvian, Sir Robert Peel on the one side ; Lord Althorp, Sir Francis Burdett on the other ; and it was asserted that when the Speaker was endeavouring to keep Order, Mr. Tennyson went the length of interrupting him and denying his authority.¹ In short, such a scene has seldom been witnessed in Great Britain, tho' frequently in France. The discussion was at last interrupted by the knocking at the door of the Usher of the Black Rod.²

"Upper Wimpole Street, Wednesday, April 27th, 1831. The weather continues beautiful. Grossmith brought me news this morning of the house of Lord Walsingham in Upper Harley Street, just opposite to this one, being burnt down during the night, that his Lordship is burnt in his bed, and Lady W., in endeavouring to escape by the window, was killed. The event made a considerable sensation all over the town. . . . There were some illuminations in the Town on account of the King having dissolved Parliament and thereby shown himself favourable to the Cause of Reform,—tho' many of the wisest and best of the Nation think that that Measure may lead to very serious changes in the State. . . .

"Elderslie, 26th (June). Very rainy day. . . . This is the anniversary of the death of King George IV, and this day Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg wrote to the Belgian Comm^r accepting the Crown of that Country, it being understood that the Belgians shall settle their Territory and Government agreeably to the Protocols of

¹ Mr. Tennyson flatly contradicted the Speaker, who had ruled that Sir R. Vyvian was in order in denouncing the Reform Bill, Ministers' conduct of affairs, and, above all, their intention to dissolve. Mr. Tennyson asserted that "the course taken by the honourable baronet is disorderly," and went on to declare that "even though the Speaker should gainsay it, I will maintain that the honourable baronet is out of order." Sir Robert Peel also spoke on this occasion, and is said never to have been in a greater passion in his life.

² This was to summon the Commons to the Upper House, to hear the prorogation of Parliament.

the Ministers of the Great Powers of Europe.—With this letter, the Deputies set off for Bruxelles.”

In September, 1831, Mr. Arbuthnot was in Paris, and, while there, went to visit Marshal Macdonald.¹ He describes his interview as follows :

“ Paris, Sunday, September 4th, 1831. . . . Called on Marshal Macdonald and had with him a very agreeable interview. He is now living temporarily at l'Hotel de la Terrasse, in the Rue de Rivoli. He alluded to the present situation of affairs in France, and particularly to the question of the hereditary Peerage ;² in answer to my question as to when he would pay his next visit to England, he said he could not go to England without going to Scotland, and that it would not answer for him to go to Scotland while the present occupants of Holyrood were there.³ The Marshal asked with great kindness for Captain and Mrs. Basil Hall, and for Alexander Trotter. He then spoke of his own travels through Great Britain and Ireland, of which he seems to have forgotten nothing, and when I expressed my surprise at the freshness of his recollection, he said he attributed it in some degree to his habit of making notes of whatever and whoever he saw. At this part of his discourse, he turned to George, and advised him to follow that plan, assuring him that he would derive from it both advantage and pleasure. . . . There is a frankness and heartiness in the manner and conversation of this Eminent Person which puts those with whom he is dealing perfectly at ease. While we were with the Marshal, a servant came twice into the room and delivered messages to him, the one an enquiry about his family, the other, accompanied by a Letter, stated to be from an old Soldier who had served under his command and now made some claim. I could not help being struck with the gentle tone of voice, as well as the extreme distinctness, with which the Marshal gave his answers :—the same impression was made upon me on a former occasion and a more trying one ; the Servant came into his room in the Hotel of la Grande Chancellerie of the Legion of Honour, and told him that his Horses had been startled, had run

¹ Etienne Jacques Joseph Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum and Marshal of France, belonged to a family that had anciently migrated from Scotland. He was one of the most distinguished of Napoleon's generals, and had been created a Marshal on the field of Wagram in 1809 by Napoleon himself. Though devotedly attached to the Emperor, he counselled him to abdicate at Fontainebleau in 1815, and carried the Act of Abdication to the Allied Sovereigns. He declared his adhesion to the Bourbon régime immediately afterwards, having been requested to do so by Napoleon. During the Hundred Days he refused to break his oath and return to his former allegiance. He died in 1840.

² The privileges of the hereditary peerage in France were abolished the following December.

³ The exiled Royal family of France, who were, at this time, in residence at Holyrood.

away with the carriage and broke it. The calmness of the owner of the carriage was not ruffled in the slightest degree, and all he said was he hoped no person was hurt, and, on being assured of that, he resumed his discourse as if nothing had happened. . . ."

The same month (September, 1831) Mr. Arbuthnot, with his son George, went on to Brussels, and they visited the field of Waterloo, which he describes at some length. They reached London on the 28th of that month, and, once more, the Reform Bill struggle resumes its prominent place in the Diaries. The General Election had had the anticipated result, and the Whigs had come back to office greatly strengthened for the coming struggle. On the 21st of September, the Reform Bill passed the House of Commons by a majority of 109. The anxious question was everywhere asked: "What will the Lords do?" The last hope of the anti-Reformers lay in the veto of the Upper House. All doubt was ended on the 8th of October, when the Lords threw out the Bill by a majority of 41. Writing at Elderslie, Mr. Arbuthnot says: "This will make a great sensation throughout the Kingdom, and it is to be feared there may be tumult."

On the 10th October Mr. Arbuthnot went to London with Mr. Walter Calvert. He writes:

"Looked at the Meeting of the Parish of Marylebone in the Regents Park, assembled in consequence of the Reform Bill being thrown out in the House of Lords. Shop windows closed, some entirely, some only a Board up. Went down to Westminster at 5 o'clock, when the Lords and Commons were assembling. Those who had voted against the Bill, and particularly the Bishops, hooted. A strong party of the new Police¹ lined the principal streets of Westminster leading to the Houses of Parliament, and, owing to this, no violent outrage committed there; but the houses of the Dukes of Wellington and Newcastle, of Lord Mansfield and other eminent Persons adverse to the Bill were assailed and their windows broke. . . ."²

The popular anger against the House of Lords found expression on the 12th October, in a monster procession of 60,000 persons, which marched to St. James' to present a petition to the King. They received a favourable answer, the King promising to retain his present ministers, to use all constitutional means to facilitate the passing of the Bill, and to remove from their posts at Court all persons opposed to it. This was announced to the waiting crowds by Mr. Joseph Hume, and received with an outburst of cheering. Mr. Hume then begged the assemblage to disperse quietly. This some of them did, but others would

¹ The police force had been instituted by Sir Robert Peel in 1829. Hence the terms "peeler" and "bobbie."

² This was the second time in the year 1831 that Apsley House had been assailed by a furious mob. The previous attack was in April, when the Duchess of Wellington's body lay in the house awaiting burial.—See p. 223.

not be satisfied without some further demonstration, and many disorders followed. Several peers, including Lord Londonderry, were attacked in the streets and rescued with difficulty. In the country, the news of the Bill having been rejected caused violent scenes and many outrages. There were riots at Derby and at Nottingham, while a seat of the Duke of Newcastle, Nottingham Castle, was burnt to the ground. Towards the end of the month the terrible Bristol riots took place, in which many people lost their lives.

The Reform Bill was re-introduced into the House of Commons in December, and again, after weeks of debate, the third reading was carried on 23rd March, 1832. Two days previously (21st March) Mr. Arbuthnot writes :

" Debate in the House of Commons about the 3rd Reading of the Reform Bill. Extraordinary speech by Mr. Perceval.¹ . . . Some assembling of the labouring classes in the Streets, and some slight disturbances in Tottenham Court Road. Met a posse of Policemen in Bryanston Square. . . . "

On May 7th, the Ministry suffered a reverse in the House of Lords which is thus described by Mr. Arbuthnot :

" Tuesday, 8th (May). Last night, in the Committee of the Lords, the Ministry was left in the Minority by 35 on an amendment by Lord Lyndhurst for changing the order of considering the general clauses of the Bill in the Committee. . . . On this point, apparently one of little importance, Lord Grey, finding himself in a minority, resolved to stand or fall, and therefore, after holding a Cabinet Council, set off for Windsor, accompanied by Lord Brougham, the Chanc^r, and offered to the King the alternative of a creation of Peers sufficiently large to

¹ Mr. Perceval's speech in the House of Commons on the 20th March was, indeed, an " extraordinary " performance. Mr. Molesworth remarks that the like of it had not been heard since the days of " Praise God Barebones " Parliament. It was rather in the style of an imprecatory psalm, and the following passages may be taken as samples of the whole : " Think ye if that thing be true which is written—' Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it ? ' . . . Think ye, if that scripture be true, that this your work can be blessed ? ' . . . How standeth the account of the House with its God at this time ? . . . Ye depart, do ye, when the name of your God is mentioned ? Ye would have sat till five o'clock in the morning, had not His name been mentioned, listening to the tongues of men tinkling like idle cymbals. . . . Will ye not listen for a few moments to one who speaketh in the name of the Lord ? . . . I tell ye that this land will soon be desolate ; a little time and ye shall howl one and all in your streets. . . . " Mr. Perceval continued in this strain undismayed by loud cries of " question " and " adjourn," until he was at last cut short by the exclamation of one of the members that there were strangers in the gallery. The Speaker immediately ordered the strangers to withdraw, and while the order was being carried out, Mr. Perceval " sat down suddenly," and the extraordinary scene came to an end.

secure a Majority, or to accept of his and his Colleagues' Resignation of office. His Majesty chose the latter.

"London, Monday, May 14th. The Duke of Wellington is said to have kissed hands on his being named Prime Minister. Some agitation observable in the streets."

The resignation of the Grey cabinet caused a fresh sensation throughout the country. Many persons leagued themselves together to refuse to pay taxes. The House of Commons was petitioned to refuse supplies until the Reform Bill should be passed. Another plan was to cause an artificial run on the banks. The streets of London were covered with placards bearing the words: "Go for gold, and stop the Duke." Preparations were begun for armed resistance, but the crisis passed when it was learnt that the Duke of Wellington had failed to form a cabinet, and that the King had yielded and recalled Lord Grey. On the 17th May, William IV, now very much out of humour and having lost all his popularity, received Lord Grey and Lord Brougham, and reluctantly gave his consent to a creation of peers. The King, who, contrary to his usual custom, kept his ministers standing throughout the interview, was annoyed by Lord Brougham's request that his consent should be given in writing. He gave way, however, and wrote it in the following words: "The King grants permission to Earl Grey and to his Chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill, first calling peers' eldest sons."

On Monday, 28th May, Mr. Arbuthnot writes :

"The Day appointed for the celebration of the King's B.D., which occurs at an unlucky moment, when, from late occurrences, William IV is much out of favour with the Populace. The Royal Family was under engagement to dine with the Duke of Wellington this day, but under existing circumstances it has been deemed expedient to change that arrangement."

The House of Lords bowed to the inevitable, and the expedient of creating peers was not resorted to. The Bill passed the Lords on the 4th June, and on the 7th received the Royal Assent by Commission. All efforts to induce the King to go in person to Westminster to give his Assent were in vain. He was too deeply offended by some attacks that had recently appeared in the press, and his sympathies were now entirely alienated from the Whigs. Mr. Arbuthnot writes as follows on the 9th June :

"... Some of the English papers have for some days past contained articles very abusive of the King for not going in person to give the Royal Assent to the Reform Bill, which was done by Commission

on Thursday last, in a very quiet manner ; which seems to me to be very wise conduct, for surely in such a measure of awful change, the greater quietness that can be preserved the better ;—but this is probably only the calm which precedes the storm. The present Parliament will be dissolved at the end of the Session, then will come the business of a General Election, when the turbulent and riotous passions will be let loose, and when there may be a want of power in the well-disposed, and in the Government itself to stem them.—We shall see.”

On the 18th of June, the anniversary of Waterloo, the Duke of Wellington was returning from the Mint, attended only by a groom, when he was surrounded by a furious mob, whom he only managed to evade with the greatest difficulty. The greatest indignation was everywhere expressed at this outrage, and Mr. Arbuthnot, after referring to it, remarks : “ Thus it is that Liberty falls into Licence, and thus it will be, unless the Government can repress with a strong hand the risings of the lower classes, there is danger to the country. Seventeen years ago, how different was the feeling of the Populace to this first of Soldiers ! . . . ”

The following day (19th June) he writes :

“ . . . Dined at Mr. John Melville's. . . . Some of the conversation was about the assault committed yesterday on the D. of W., and by most Persons was mentioned with horror and indignation.—Some, however, took a different tone, and expressed regret that the Duke should, by riding in the Streets, have exposed himself to the view of the People, thereby exciting them to riot !—which would really be establishing at once the tyranny of a mob government.

“ London, Thursday, September 27th. . . . News of the death of Sir Walter Scott, at his seat of Abbotsford, on the 23rd inst., having since his return from Italy a few months ago, lingered in a state almost of insensibility. It is said that in spite of all his great and successful literary exertions, large debts still remain unpaid, and a Subscription for the family and to save the Estate to the Son of Sir Walter is spoken of and discussed in the newspapers. . . . ”

On March 16th, 1833, Mr. Arbuthnot writes :

“ . . . This was the nomination day for Candidates to fill the vacancy in the representation of Marylebone district, occasioned by the retirement of Mr. Portman, which took place in Portland Place. The following candidates offered : Mr. Tho^s Hope, a Tory ; Hon^{ble} Chas. Murray, a Whig ; Sir Samuel Whalley K^t and Mr. Thos. Murphy both Radicals, and I believe Demagogues and Anarchists. . . .

“ London, Saturday, Jan^y 4th (1834). . . . At 10 o'clock, I had to attend the Sessions House, Clerkenwell, to endeavour to get rid of a fine of £10, imposed upon me for failing to attend the Grand Jury

on Monday last. The Justices are now extremely strict in enforcing attendance of those summoned, and I cannot say but they are very right ; the only thing to complain of is that there seems to be much partiality shewn by the summoning officers. Many persons have, to my knowledge, lived in the Parish for years, and never had a summons left at their house, while others are called upon for the different Courts several times in the same year,—there lies the error. I stated on oath to the Bench (Mr. Roach presiding) my age, but the answer to that was " Why have you not got your name taken off the Rolls or Jury Lists ? " Because I was living in the Country when they were exhibited on the door of the Church ; but he rejoined that that would not do. I then tried one other argument, which was that I had spoken the day before the Sessions with one of the Magistrates, who had promised to endeavour to get me excused.—Mr. Roach admitted that this had some weight in my favour, but that the Magistrate, whoever he might be, had acted very wrong in undertaking any such Commission, and he finished by saying the Court would be satisfied if I paid £1, —which I did, and was acquitted."

In the autumn of 1834, William IV, as is well known, unceremoniously, and, as some think, unconstitutionally, dismissed Lord Melbourne and his other ministers, and called upon the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel to form a Government, although their party could command no majority in the House of Commons. This resulted in a General Election, and we find Mr. Arbuthnot writing as follows on 9th January, 1835 :

" The Metropolitan Elections are running strong in favour of the Democratic Party, among all the grades or shades of which, Old Whig, New Whig, or Radicals and Republicans, appear to lose sight, for the moment, of the wide differences in their sentiments, and to coalesce for the exclusive purpose of turning out the Tories. That is their watchword, and the great mass of the Populace respond to the cry ' Down with the Tories ! '—Nevertheless, that party have still some strength. In the Country, it has certainly some preponderance, so far as Wealth, Station and Education weigh in the scale.—If the bias of the Multitude should carry the day, and the Conservative¹ Ministry come to a premature end, it is difficult to imagine what course the King will follow, and what Statesman of respectability and talent will be found to take the helm in hand. The object of our wishes now is that the present Ministry may steer such a course of wisdom and fairness as may absolutely force the support of upright and constitutional men, whether they be Whigs or Tories. . . ."

After the elections were over, the Tory ministers returned to power with a slender and precarious majority in England and Scotland, leaving them at the mercy of the Irish vote.

¹ The term " Conservative " was first applied to the Tories in 1831.

"Tuesday, 24th (February). The King opened the Session of Parliament in the Painted Chamber, made use of temporarily for the Lords. George got a ticket from the Lord Chamberlain's Office, thro' Visc^t A.,¹ and heard the Speech from the Throne. . . .

"Sunday, March 1st. . . . In Mr. Cook's last Letter from Ockley, dated the 23rd February, he mentions an accident by fire at the Ho. of Mr. Kerritch on Leith Hill,² which was got under before it had done any considerable damage, by the *Garden Engine*. N.B. to procure a machine of the kind."

On the 17th March, Mr. Arbuthnot refers to the speeches in the House of Lords the night before, when Lord Londonderry announced his resignation of the office of Ambassador to St. Petersburg, owing to a debate in the House of Commons a few nights before, when many bitter comments were made on the appointment. Lord Londonderry spoke with restraint and dignity, and Mr. Arbuthnot also refers to Lord Lansdowne's "good and gentlemanlike" speech, after which he adds: "Very different was that of the Opposition Leader in the Lower House, Lord John Russell. Whatever he says is full of asperity and rancour. He is almost as bad in those respects as Joseph Hume, tho' not quite so vulgar, but Sir R. P. is more than a match for them both, his coolness and self-possession are marvellous. . . .

"Friday, 10th (April). . . . My Daughter Anne . . . brought the news of the retirement from Office of Sir Rob^t Peel and his Colleagues, they not being able to command a Majority in the House of Commons. That Ministry have been but 5 Months in Office, and its Head has made a figure equal to the brightest that ever bore sway. . . ."

On the 3rd of that month Lord John Russell had succeeded in carrying a motion against the Government on the subject of Irish tithes, and William IV consequently found himself in the mortifying position of having to receive back the Melbourne Ministry, whom he had dismissed with such a high hand a few months before.

On April 18th Mr. Arbuthnot writes:

". . . The new Ministry of the Whigs was this Evening announced in the H. of C., or rather, the return to office of the Melbourne Administration, which has been forced back upon the King, very greatly, it is believed, against his inclination, and this has been effected by a coalition in that House of the two Parties, for the avowed purpose of ousting the Tories, or Conservatives." After referring to Sir Robert Peel's resignation, he continues: "There have been Addresses made to that Eminent Man from Persons professing Conservative Principles

¹ Viscount Arbuthnott.

² This was Arnolds, in the parish of Capel, belonging to Mr. Edward Kerrich.

throughout the Kingdom, addresses certainly disinterested and independent, as they are made to the beaten Party and at the moment of his defeat. That the Parties signing these addresses are respectable, appears by each Person annexing to his name his Profession and his place of Residence."

The Diaries of George Arbuthnot of Elderslie continue down to the 22nd December, 1838, and many other extracts, dealing principally with family matters, will be found in another part of this volume, where an account of his life is given. Want of space had made it necessary to omit many passages that would doubtless have interested not only the diarist's descendants, but any reader inclined to study the period in which Mr. Arbuthnot lived. It is hoped that the passages selected will give a tolerably accurate idea of a conscientious and high-minded country gentleman's outlook in those stormy days. The problems of his time may appear to us in a different perspective to-day, but the value of contemporary impressions will be recognized by all who care to analyze not only the events, but the currents of thought prevailing in any given period.

SHEET B.

HON. ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOTT
of KNOX
(died 1705)

ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOTT
of KNOX
(died 1764)

ROBERT ARBUTHNOTT
of Kirkbrahead
(died 1773)

HUGH ARBUTHNOTT
drowned 1778,
unmarried

LIEUT.-COL. ROBERT
ARBUTHNOTT,
3rd son
(died 1796)

ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER
DUNDAS YOUNG ARBUTHNOTT
(died 1871)

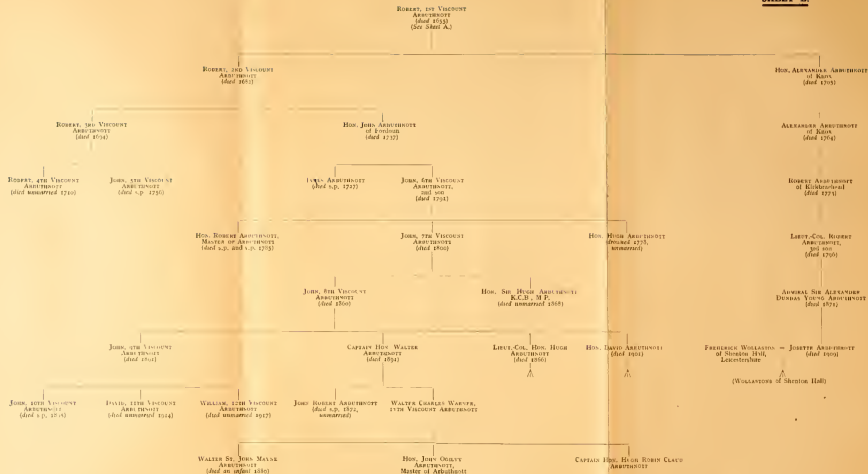
DAVID ARBUTHNOTT
(died 1901)

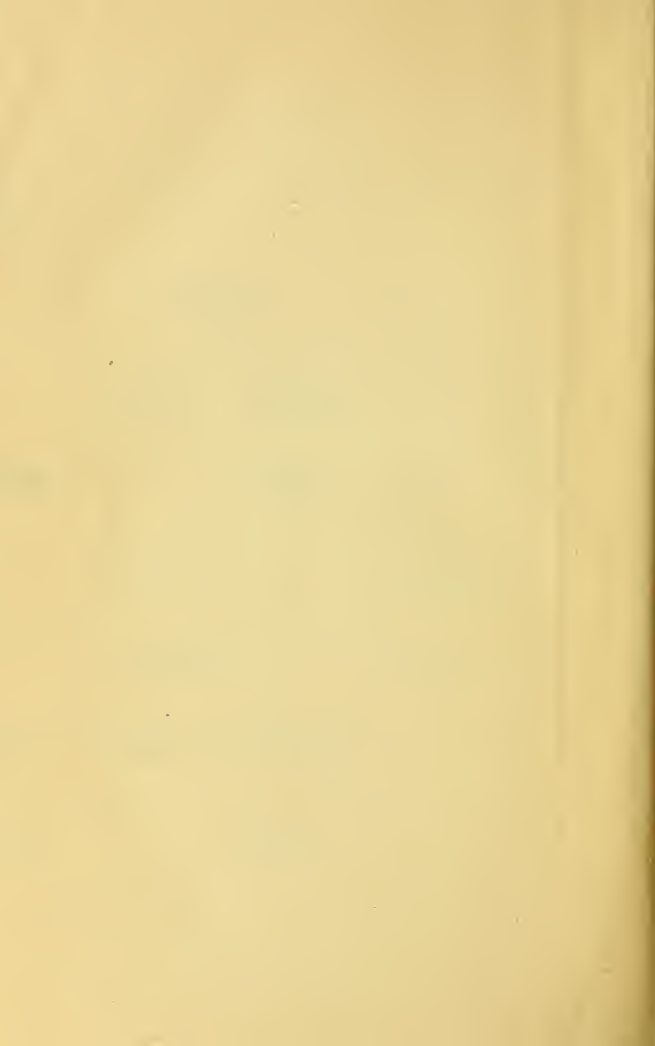
FREDERICK WOLLASTON = JOSETTE ARBUTHNOTT
of Shenton Hall,
Leicestershire (died 1909)

(WOLLASTONS of Shenton Hall)

ON. HUGH ROBIN CLAUO
ARBUTHNOTT







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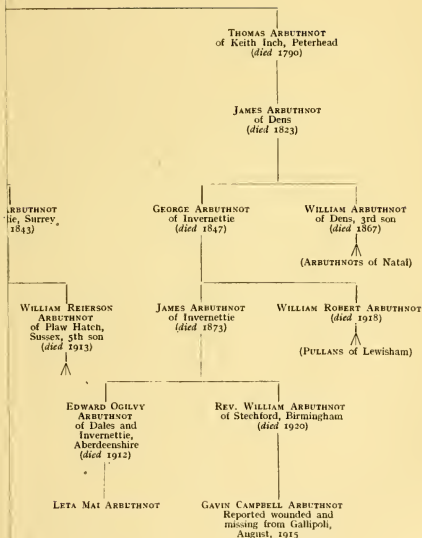
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ARBUTHNOT
hitchill
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of Whitehall
(died 1705)
(See Sheet A.)

ROBERT ARBUTHNOT
of Haddo-Rathay
(died 1720)

THOMAS ARBUTHNOT
of Keith 1000, Perthshire
(died 1720)

ROBERT ARBUTHNOT
of Haddo-Rathay
(died 1703)

JAMES ARBUTHNOT
of Dron
(died 1723)

SIR WILLIAM ARBUTHNOT,
1st Bt.,
(died 1829)

GEORGE ARBUTHNOT
of Elderslie, Surrey
(died 1843)

GEORGE ARBUTHNOT
of Invercathie
(died 1847)

WILLIAM ARBUTHNOT
of Dron, 2nd son
(died 1852)

(ARBUTHNOTS of Noddy)

SIR ROBERT KEITH
ARBUTHNOT
and Bt.,
(died 1873)

JOHN ALFRED ARBUTHNOT
of Comar Park, 18th Windsor
(died 1873)

GEORGE CLARK ARBUTHNOT
of Montrose, Scotland
(died 1874)

ARCHIBALD FRANK
ARBUTHNOT
(died 1879)

WILLIAM UGOUHART
ARBUTHNOT
(died 1874)

JAMES EDWARD ARBUTHNOT
of Forth Ave, Middlesbrough
(died 1880)

GEORGE ARBUTHNOT
of Elderslie
(died 1905)

WILLIAM REIDSON
ARBUTHNOT
of Flow Place,
Surrey, 5th son
(died 1913)

JAMES ARBUTHNOT
of Invercathie
(died 1873)

WILLIAM ROBERT ARBUTHNOT
(died 1918)
(POLLANS of Levensham)

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN
ARBUTHNOT
3rd Bt.
(died 1889)

FORBES FITZGERALD ARBUTHNOT
(died 1 p. 1904)

REV. ROBERT KEITH
ARBUTHNOT
(died 1891)

GEORGE ARBUTHNOT-LESLIE
of Elderslie
(died 1898)

JAMES WOODGATE
ARBUTHNOT
of Elderslie, Surrey

EDWARD OGILVY
ARBUTHNOT
of Dalry and
Invercathie,
Aberdeenshire
(died 1912)

REV. WILLIAM ARBUTHNOT
of Strickland, Birmingham
(died 1909)

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR ROBERT
KEITH ARBUTHNOT,
4th Bt.,
Killed at the Battle of
Jutland, 1916

BREAGIER-GENERAL SIR
DALEMPHRE ARBUTHNOT,
C.M.G., 5th Bt.

WILLIAM FITZGERALD
ARBUTHNOT

WILLIAM DOUGLAS
ARBUTHNOT-LESLIE
of Warfield

CAPTAIN GEORGE
REBERT
ARBUTHNOT-LESLIE

LETA MAI ARBUTHNOT

GAVIN CAMPBELL ARBUTHNOT
Reported wounded and
missing from Gallipoli,
August, 1915

ROBERT DALEMPHRE ARBUTHNOT.

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King Robert II of Scotland

King Robert II of Scotland, b. 1316, m. 1347, Elizabeth, dau. of Sir Adam Mure, of Rowallan.

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| Robert II, m. 1347, Elizabeth, dau. of Sir Adam Mure, of Rowallan. | 1316-1377 | 1347-1377 |
| James I, m. 1361, Margaret, dau. of King of Denmark. | 1361-1406 | 1361-1406 |
| James II, m. 1449, Mary, dau. of Arnold, Duke Gueldres. | 1449-1464 | 1449-1464 |
| James III, m. 1469, Margaret, dau. of Christian I, King of Denmark. | 1469-1489 | 1469-1489 |
| James IV, m. 1507, Margaret, ch. dau. of King Henry VII, of England. | 1507-1541 | 1507-1541 |
| James V, m. 1538, Marie de Lorraine, dau. of Claude de France, dauphine of France. | 1538-1567 | 1538-1567 |
| Mary m. 1567, James VI and I, King of England. | 1567-1603 | 1567-1603 |
| James VI and I, m. 1603, Anne, dau. of France, m. 1603, Anne, dau. of France. | 1603-1625 | 1603-1625 |
| Charles I, m. 1625, Henrietta Maria, dau. of France. | 1625-1649 | 1625-1649 |
| Charles II, m. 1659, Catherine of Braganza, dau. of Portugal. | 1659-1685 | 1659-1685 |
| James II and VII, m. 1689, Anne, dau. of Denmark. | 1689-1702 | 1689-1702 |
| George I, m. 1714, Sophia, dau. of Hanover. | 1714-1760 | 1714-1760 |
| George II, m. 1735, Caroline, dau. of Brunswick. | 1735-1760 | 1735-1760 |
| George III, m. 1761, Charlotte, dau. of Mecklenburg. | 1761-1820 | 1761-1820 |
| George IV, m. 1795, Maria Anne, dau. of Portugal. | 1795-1830 | 1795-1830 |
| William IV, m. 1811, Adelaide, dau. of Saxe-Gotha. | 1811-1837 | 1811-1837 |
| Victoria, m. 1840, Albert, Prince Consort. | 1840-1901 | 1840-1901 |
| Edward VII, m. 1901, Alexandra, dau. of Russia. | 1901-1910 | 1901-1910 |
| George V, m. 1902, Mary, dau. of Prussia. | 1902-1936 | 1902-1936 |
| Edward VIII, m. 1936, Wallis, dau. of Windsor. | 1936-1936 | 1936-1936 |
| George VI, m. 1947, Elizabeth, dau. of Saxe-Coburg. | 1947-1952 | 1947-1952 |
| Elizabeth II, m. 1947, Philip, Duke of Edinburgh. | 1947-1952 | 1947-1952 |

King George VI m. 1923 Lady Elizabeth Angela Marguerite

